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Zhulali: 'Ready To Welcome' Stealth Bombers

AU1409164795 Paris AFP in English
1629 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, Sept 14 (AFP)—Albania is ready to welcome Stealth fighter-bombers which the United States wants to use in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Albanian Defence Minister Safet Zhulali said Thursday [14 September].

"We are ready to welcome the U.S. Stealth bombers which the United States wants to use in Bosnia, if we are asked," Zhulali told AFP, two days after Italy decided to refuse to play host to the F-117 jets in protest at Rome's exclusion from the Bosnian peace process.

"We want to be the United States' favourite in the Balkans," the minister said.

Three U.S. reconnaissance planes have been based at Albania's northern Gachi airbase since mid-July.

Zhulali also said some 300 Albanian and U.S. soldiers launched joint military exercises Thursday as part of NATO's bridge building Partnership for Peace programme.

The manoeuvres were the seventh involving Albania since it joined the programme in February 1994.

Press Commentary on Berisha's Visit to Pentagon

AU1409125095

[FBIS Editorial Report] The Albanian press on 14 September carries reports on President Berisha's continuing visit to the United States and his talks with Defense Secretary Perry at the Pentagon.

Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian carries on page one 1,000 words of reports by Washington correspondents L. Ligori and E. Paloka under the title "U.S. Defense Secretary Perry Receives President Berisha at the Pentagon," with the subhead "Substantial Expansion of Military Cooperation Between Albania and the United States." The report states that "a prestigious ceremony was organized at the Pentagon in honor of President Berisha," who, after his meeting with Defense Secretary Perry, told RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE's correspondents, "The meeting was very important. After the talks I had with President Clinton, I agreed with Defense Secretary Perry on a substantial expansion of military cooperation between Albania and the United States. The United States also made commitments to help Albania with technical and logistic aid to strengthen and increase the capacity of our antiaircraft defenses and our antitank forces, and for the restructuring of the Albanian Army as a whole."

"I sought support from the United States for Albania's membership of NATO, and I am sure that the United States will support Albania as the first country to seek NATO membership. Of course, criteria are being drawn up and will soon be made public, which the countries must meet to become members. The important thing is to work toward fulfilling these criteria."

The report also describes Berisha's meetings with Senators Dole and Gillman.

A passage boxed within the body of the report, with the subhead "No to Socialism in Albania," and signed by E. Paloka, states, "It was U.S. Senator James Moran who at the meeting of senators on Albanian affairs unhesitatingly declared, 'We must make every effort for Albania not to become socialist.'" The reports cites Congressmen Engel comparing Albania today with the United States in the time of President Jefferson, and saying, "but the Socialist opposition in Albania thinks differently about democracy." The passage continues, "It seems that the recent 'enthusiastic cheering' by the Socialist Party chiefs to create the impression that they are not anti-American, as they have been accused of being, has not reached the United States. However, unfortunately for them, the Socialist Party's anti-American credentials are still 'circulating' in the United States. The politicians of the United States are not clever enough to understand that you can go to bed as an anti-American and wake up as an admirer of the United States."

Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian carries on page one an 800-word report by Sylejman Gashi entitled "President Clinton Praises Albanian Reforms," quoting statements by White House spokesman David Johnson and reporting Berisha's meetings with Senator Dole and Defense Secretary Perry.

Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian carries on page five a 700-word report by Gianna Pontecorboli entitled "Albania 'Wins' at the Pentagon." After describing the "magnificent militia parade" to welcome President Berisha at the Pentagon, the report states that "no tangible details have percolated beyond the walls of official statements, but Albania is now known to be one of the United States' favorite partners in the military field." the report mentions "a failure of the Albanian president" in Boston University's refusal to award Berisha an honorary degree. "The reasons, still not officially confirmed, are said to be connected with protests by the powerful Greek clan over the treatment of the Greek minority in Albania."

Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian carries on page three a 700-word report by Ben Blushi, entitled "Boston University Refuses To Honor Berisha." The reports cites a Boston University spokesman as saying, "The collapse of Albanian-Greek talks shows that there will be no progress in this direction. We suspect that the issue of the schools will not be solved without international supervision." The report speculates whether U.S. officials discussed with Berisha the independence of the Albanian courts and the case of the imprisoned Socialist leader Fatos Nano. After reporting Berisha's visit to the Pentagon, the report mentions Senator James Moran as saying that "The United States is not interested in the Socialists coming to power," and adds, "U.S. Government sources say that they are impartial in the Albanian election campaign, and do not support anybody." The report concludes, "Berisha today begins meetings with Albanians in Boston, although the dust raised by the issue of the Greek schools has somewhat damaged the significance of the visit."

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian carries on page six an unattributed 200-word report entitled "Reception at the Pentagon," reporting statements by President Berisha and Defense Secretary Perry expressing confidence in the growing military cooperation between Albania and the United States.

PSD Leader on Legislature, President, Court

AU1409141595 Tirana POPULLI PO in Albanian 12 Sep 95 p 5

[Unattributed interview with S. Gjinushi, Social Democratic Party leader; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We do not have a parliament." This utter denial on the part of the Social Democratic (PSD) leader comes as a result of his revolt against the latest session of the People's Assembly. In that session Chairman Pjeter Arbnori did not accept the demand of the opposition parties for Prime Minister Meksi's interpellation. "The latest session was a flagrant violation of the legislature's regulations," says Gjinushi. "It is a permanent violation, a premeditated procedure, through which the majority is trying to pass its own laws and make its own decisions, and at the same time to deprive the opposition of its legitimate right. This right has to do with the inclusion in the program of the demand for interpellation, urgent questioning, to exert what is called legislative control. Under these conditions, when the program is endorsed by violating the regulations in accordance with the interests of the Democratic Party, the presence of the opposition is useless, fictitious. The Democratic Party (PD) has transformed this legislature into a bunch of marionettes whom Mr. Arbnori is conducting well."

[Gjinushi] The first marionette is President Berisha himself.

[POPULLI PO] Who is conducting the president?

[Gjinushi] He will say this himself, when he returns from the United States...

[POPULLI PO] You have had meetings at the American Embassy in Tirana on the Brozi issue. Do you think that this theme will also be discussed in the talks with the Americans?

[Gjinushi] The democratization of the country's life is one of the main conditions that the United States puts on bilateral relations with another country. Thus in the democratization framework, the independence of the courts is one of the most sacred elements. Directly or indirectly, this theme must be dealt with.

[POPULLI PO] You also wanted to ask Meksi about it?

[Gjinushi] We shall insist on this happening. We shall insist that our demands be included in the program. The demand for the prime minister's interpellation is part of the demands. He has to explain the police scandal surrounding the Cassation Court. We shall insist on this and we shall not take part in the legislature's session until it is realized. We shall consult our party as well as all the other parties on this. This is an indication of further aggravation of the political climate in Albania. This is a very meaningful prelude to the coming elections. The PD has made two unprecedented appeals; it surrounds the Cassation Court and dictates to the legislature, which again is a form of seige, because in this way the parliament remains only a building and does not function as a democratic entity. During the electoral campaign, anything could come from a party that commits such violations.

There are many factors that indicate a dictatorial preparation for the coming elections. This is happening under the direct inspiration of President Berisha.

[POPULLI PO] How can you say such a thing when the president is in the United States, in a free and independent country? Isn't there a sort of contradiction?

[Gjinushi] There are many contradictions. Parliamentary Chairman Pjeter Arbnori has visited the parliaments throughout the world. He has also attended all the seminars instead of sending deputies to attend. He nominates, decides on, and distributes the per diem allowance to all the delegations going abroad. Nevertheless, we have never shown our disatisfaction thinking, "perhaps this makes him good, at least he learns something from other democracies." But as it appears, he has not learned even the rudiments of other parliaments, how they are run and how they function. The rudiments are: the opposition has the undeniable right to control the functioning of parliament, the government, everything. Just like the majority has the right to make decisions.

[POPULLI PO] Nevertheless, visits have been numerous.

[Gjinushi] Neither visits nor the models of other countries make any impression on these politicians, the president included. They have not helped with changing the political course. Of course, it is a very good thing to go on these visits, because they are very useful for Albania politically, etc. But they make use of these visits to further deny human rights in Albania.

[POPULLI PO] Last week along with other opposition parties, you met with representatives of the diplomatic corps in Albania. What were the goals and results of these visits?

[Gjinushi] Every foreign diplomat is sensitive to such unprecedented and amoral acts. They are not justifiable even in a transitional period. We have accepted the fact that in a transitional period economic difficulties are justifiable, but not the political problems and those which have to do with the rule of law. One cannot send the police to the Cassation Court under the pretext of searching for communists or former secret police. This is a pressure tactic against the opposition parties.

The meetings with the foreign diplomats were informative. Later they will tell their governments and different institutions what really happens in Albania. Both of us worry about what is not going well and what has to be done to put things right. We did not intend to "denounce" these acts like some PD spokesman when using the language of the past: "We should not sell ourselves to the foreigners," or "we should not wash our linen in public." We have to be open to Europe: It is our family, our home.

Government on Air Strikes, FYROM-Greek Accord

AU1509102995 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 15 Sep 95

[Statement by Bulgarian Government Spokesman Nikola Baltov in the studio—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Republic of Bulgaria has consistently defended the position that only peaceful means can bring about a lasting, effective, and comprehensive settlement of the military conflict on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

The Bulgarian Government supports the statement made by the chairman of the UN Security Council on 13 September, in which he calls upon all the parties involved in the conflict to refrain from military actions and hostile acts on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Such responsible behavior would make it possible to advance the considerable progress in the peace process that was started at the meeting of the foreign ministers of the FRY, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia held in Geneva on 8 September under the aegis of the Contact Group.

The Republic of Bulgaria assesses the agreement reached on 13 September on a 72-hour truce as the maximum possible display of political will and common sense and as a chance for peace that should not be missed again.

In the general context of progress in the peace process, the issue of sanctions is of paramount political and economic importance for Bulgaria. As a country that has strictly observed all the resolutions of the UN Security Council regarding the sanctions against the FRY, suffering immense losses as a result, the Republic of Bulgaria, as it has repeatedly stated, considers that the beginning of the peace process also presupposes that a start should be made on discussing the issue of lifting the sanctions. As is well known, this is the [word indistinct] of the U.S. initiative, which Bulgaria has supported. In this connection, we once again call upon the parties to refrain from unilateral acts that do not comply with UN Security Council resolutions.

The Republic of Bulgaria welcomes the accord reached between the Hellenic Republic and the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] as an important step in normalizing relations between the two countries, which are neighbors of Bulgaria, a step that contributes to the overall stabilization of the region. Our country has already declared its readiness to be included in any possible international plan for regional economic recovery and [words indistinct] when the conflict in former Yugoslavia ends. We would like to issue a further reminder that we are convinced that the implementation of infrastructure projects and the activation of economic cooperation in the region will contribute to strengthening the security and stability of the Balkans.

Tsochev, Russian Ambassador Discuss Relations

AU1409154995 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 14 September, Deputy Prime Minister Kiril Tsochev had a meeting with Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Avdeyev. Bulgarian-Russian relations after the visit of Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to Bulgaria were discussed.

Their conversation included issues related to settling Russia's debt to Bulgaria and the liberalization of trade between the two countries.

Oktay Resigns as DPS Election Campaign Manager

AU1509133895 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 13 Sep 95 pp 1, 3

[STANDART NEWS staff report: "Osman Oktay Resigns"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting of Central Council of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] on 12 September, Osman Oktay submitted his resignation as head of the DPS election campaign club on health grounds. However, members of the DPS Central Council commented that this was not the real reason. They alleged that he simply wanted to avoid assuming the responsibility for a possible DPS failure in the local elections.

Oktay's functions as organizational secretary have been taken over by Kasim Dal, the number two man in the DPS after Dogan, and by deputy DPS leader Mustafa Zankov. For the time being, Oktay will stay on as a deputy leader of the DPS.

The DPS Central Council decided that the local organizations would be responsible for the election results. The DPS is supporting almost 350 mayoral candidates in 35 municipalities. Guner Tahir said that in some regions the DPS will support the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] or People's Union. The DPS candidates will compete for winnable councillors' seats on the SDS list of candidates for the Sofia Municipality. Ahmed Dogan said that the DPS supported the SDS's no-confidence motion in the government because of the cabinet's poor social policies.

Inspectors Monitor Destruction of Artillery Systems

LD1409124395 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Marie Hovadikova, from Czech Radio in Olomouc, is reporting on the arrival of a Spanish inspection group at the military training grounds in Libava [northern Bohemia] today. The inspectors are monitoring the observance of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe.

[Hovadikova] Officers from the Spanish Army, along with military inspectors from Belgium, Great Britain, and Canada, will be present in Libava at the beginning of the liquidation of artillery systems: 40 rocket launchers, five self-propelled howitzers, and two minethrowers.

The Czech Republic has been cutting down its combat technology and military personnel for the past three years. The reduction is to be completed by 16 November. The Czech Republic is to be left afterwards with slightly under 94,000 soldiers, 957 tanks, 767 artillery systems, 230 planes, and 50 helicopters.

So far, 213 inspection groups have come from abroad to monitor the way in which the Czech Army is implementing the treaty. The results of the cuts in armament will be checked next in March 1996.

Civilian Version of Tamara Developed

AU1509104095 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 11 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by "(gag)": "The Designers Who Left Tesla Have Now Developed a Civilian Version of Tamara"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The designers who, prior to 1989, worked in Tesla Pardubice on developing the successful and professionally highly acclaimed Tamara military radar system and then founded their own ERA company have developed a generationally new passive radar device, Vera, intended exclusively for use in civilian aviation.

Vera, which will be displayed for the first time at the Aerosalon Ruzyne '95 exhibition this week, works on the same principle as Tamara. Its computer, however, is designed so that it is possible to connect it only to a civilian air traffic control system.

Therefore, the company will be able to export its product without having to undergo the complicated licensing procedure necessary for exporting military hardware such as Tamara. "Vera is in no way intended to detect invisible F-117 and B-2 aircraft because it uses signals from the transponders on board civilian aircraft," claims ERA's head of marketing, Milan Bernard.

The designers who left Tesla in recent years and founded their own company maintain that the reason for their departure was disagreement with the manner in which the enterprise is now being run. HTT Tesla Director General Oldrich Barak claims that, on the other hand, the people who left bear considerable responsibility for the enterprise's current economic difficulties.

He refuses, however, to discuss the speculation that Tesla's former employees, in developing Vera, made use of some of the 22 patents concerning Tamara and its older version Ramona. "We have to hold back with some conclusions until this week, when Vera is put on display," he says.

Bernard, from ERA's marketing department, absolutely refutes this speculation. "Vera admittedly works on the same principle, but its system is completely different," he says.

The virtue of these passive systems is that, as opposed to active radars, which transmit radio waves and evaluate their images, Tamara and Vera merely receive radio pulses from the atmosphere.

The Swedes abandoned the development of such passive devices 20 years ago, after describing the project as revolutionary but technically unfeasible. Britain, on the other hand, is working intensively on their development.

Kovac Jr Refused Bail; Father Will Not Resign

AU1409210695 Paris AFP in English
2044 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vienna, Sept 14 (AFP)—An Austrian judge Thursday [14 September] refused to release Michal Kovac, son of the Slovak president of the same name, on bail two weeks after he was arrested on fraud charges following his bizarre "kidnap."

The examining judge rejected a pledge by Kovac's lawyer that he would not quit the country while Austria decides what to do with him.

He was served with an international arrest warrant issued in Germany for an alleged 2.3-million-dollar fraud and Gemany has already made a formal request for his extradition.

Kovac, 34, was found slumped in a car across the Austrian border on August 31. He claimed he had been abducted in the Slovak capital Bratislava, dumped in the car boot and plied with alcohol.

Meanwhile his father told the daily NARODNA OBRODA that he did not intend to resign over the affair because it "would lead to a great destabilisation of our society, creating a situation in which it would be hard to find a new candidate for the presidency."

Moreover, he added, "Slovakia would appear even more like the weakest part of this region of Europe in the eyes of the international community."

Kovac accused Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar of involvement in the kidnap to discredit the president and take revenge for the collapse of Meciar's previous government in March last yea

"I don't doubt that the dirty tricks and intrigues and other methods of this type will be uncovered soon...and I am convinced truth and justice are values which will end up winning," he added.

"Everything goes to prove the prime minister needed this affair—based on the admissions of an accused who was moreover quickly released—to discredit the president."

Arrestee Implicates Secret Service

AU1309123495 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
13 Sep 95 p 4

[Article by Gerhard Hofer: "Kovac Junior About Power and Intrigues: Meciar Wants To Seize Control"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vienna/Bratislava—Prison of the provincial court in Vienna: Michal Kovac Jr. has been in detention pending extradition for two weeks. In an "exclusive interview" for DIE PRESSE, the president's son spoke for the first time about the background of his kidnapping. For him, there is no doubt that the kidnappers were from the Slovak secret service.

"I am convinced of that," Kovac stated. The action was aimed at "discrediting my father and at calling for his resignation so that Prime Minister Meciar can seize complete power."

Asked whether he committed an offense, Kovac Jr. said briefly: "No." "I never had and do not have any business relations with the Technopol company. Also, I was never its employee, as claimed in the arrest warrant." Everything was staged by the secret service, he stressed. The arrest warrant that was issued by the Munich public prosecutor against Kovac Jr. is based on statements by the now German and former Czechoslovak citizen Peter Krylov. Krylov was sentenced to several years in prison because of fraud that caused damage involving 230 million schillings for the Slovak "Technopol" commercial firm.

"A man who is now a member of Meciar's Cabinet told me that officials celebrated at the office of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia with champagne as early as in October 1994 that they have finally caught President Kovac," the detained son of the president pointed out. "By coincidence, Mr. Krylov testified against me in the same month. By coincidence, Mr. Meciar's right hand, Mrs. Nagyova, was in Munich for two weeks in October 1994. By coincidence, a man who had become Krylov's colleague at Radio Free Europe in Munich wrote the first article about this case for SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA."

Kovac also criticized the German police. "How is it possible that all documents—arrest warrant, the final police report—were published in the Slovak press, whereas my German lawyer was denied the right to inspect the files? All of this is very strange. Too many coincidences at once."

Kovac's lawyer, Elmar Kresbach, who is currently also defending Alexander Wolfert in the letter bomb trial, believes that there is no comparable precedent in Austria and that Kovac has not committed an offense in Austria. Thus, the question arises in view of the circumstances of his abduction to Austria "whether the judicial entities can make use of the milder instruments intended for detention pending extradition."

Meciar Outlines Agenda of Working Session

LD1409134095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The recreational center in Trencianske Teplice [central Slovakia] is the site of a working meeting of Slovak Government members and state secretaries of individual departments from today until 17 September.

Editor Peter Toman asked Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar about the agenda of the session shortly before its beginning:

[Begin recording] [Meciar] Basically, it is not a government session in the true sense of the word; it is a working seminar, where we shall discuss the experiences to date from the fulfillment of the government policy statement. Further, this session will establish in the next few days the basic axis of four fundamental tasks of the government: draft economic policy for 1996, plan of government work for 1996, legislative plan for 1996, and the basis of the state budget for 1996. At the same time, we will agree on how we will continue our discussion with social partners, with other entities, towns, and villages, and with others who have an impact on forming the economic policy of the state and government activity. It will be a working seminar whose basic method is not a meeting in the true sense of the word but analysis and conclusions for practical government work for the future period.

[Toman] Can you indicate the main aims of the budget for next year?

[Meciar] This is complicated because, if we are interested in keeping up with the GDP growth by 5 percent and if we want to keep inflation at the level of a one figure number, if we want to solve some questions of revival in the sphere of social policy in a slightly different way next year, the whole concept should change. All of this requires the departments to have an accommodating attitude. For the time being, the departments are asking approximately 90 billion [currency not given] more than the resources of the state to satisfy them. Naturally, each department and each minister is trying to do the maximum. That is why there must be agreement on priorities and, within the framework of the priorities, on what sections and how they will be supported.

[Toman] What priorities will there be in the sphere of legislation?

[Meciar] That is hard to tell. It will depend on the conclusions of this meeting. It will depend on how we form the principles of the economic policy. I assume that we should see priority tasks in two directions in 1966. The first is export, the second the development of investment policy, including technical development. The overall activity must be adjusted to that. The part connected with the building of the political system is not negligible. In this sphere there exist unfinished legislative projects or matters that give rise to the situation of varied possible explanation. The government should interfere in this process by proposing laws that should definitively stabilize the political system.

[Toman] What will be the practical conclusions from this four-day session?

[Meciar] The session will basically finish in a complex of suggestions and conclusions on which the departmental ministers will agree in the form of establishing priorities that will be valid for us, as well as in the form of accommodating steps that we will submit to employers, trade unionists, towns, and villages and other political and interest groups as a program of our activity for 1996. It is because on 15 November 1996 the government-approved draft budget will be on the agenda of the National Council of the Slovak Goverment. So this is a step toward the conclusive and definitive form. Similarly, the legislative plan and the plan of work will be approved by the end of November. Before that, by 1 November, principles and priorities of the economic policy for 1996, with prospects of up to 1998 to 2000, will be approved. [end recording]

OSCE Commissioner: More Funds for Minorities

LD1409212595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The chief commissioner for minorities [Max van der Stoel] of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] highly values the self-administration model of the ethnic minorities in Hungary. However, he finds it necessary for the state to support their operation with more money. Max van der Stoel, who met Prime Minister Gyula Horn in Budapest, also urged that only the mother tongue be used in minority education in Hungary. The Hungarian side agreed with the proposal but added that the needs of a minority numbering 2 million cannot be compared with those of a minority numbering 25,000.

Speaking of his visit to Slovakia, the European commissioner said that it would only become apparent after the implementation of the language law how much the new law hinders the use of the minority language, but in his view those in Bratislava are prepared to take into consideration the stance of the Council of Europe.

Government Regrets Ruling on Stabilization Law

LD1409214195 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The government has reacted to the decision made by the Constitutional Court yesterday with a statement.

The statement says that the Constitutional Court's rulings harm the conditions of economic and financial stabilization in the country. As a result of the June and September rulings [by the Court], the enforcement of a fairer tax system and the more just distribution of the burdens of transition among the various groups of society became more difficult.

The government regrets that the Constitutional Court does not interpret concepts such as proportion and public interest unequivocally. The government considers that the most important public interest is to reinstate the country's economic and fiscal balance, to preserve the basic institutions of social provision, and to guarantee the stability of society.

It is the government's resolute intention to continue its stabilization program of the national economy and it will not give up the idea of enforcing a fairer system of taxes.

Reaction From Parties

AU1409140995 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 14 Sep 95 p 5

[Correspondent's report: "The Budget Will Probably Not Have To Be Modified"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The parliamentary group of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] regards the decisions of the Constitutional Court as obligatory, Laszlo Toller, deputy head of the MSZP group in Parliament, told us after the Constitutional Court annulled several provisions of the Bokros package. Laszlo Toller pointed out that one should study the decision of the Constitutional Court to genuinely react to the decision. Laszlo Toller also pointed out that Parliament would legislate the desired laws as early as this year if technical and content matters can be solved. Asked about the sources the government can use to replace its loss incurred from the recent Constitutional Court decision, Laszlo Toller told us that it does not seem that the 1995 budget would have to be modified because of this, but the decision will affect the planning for next year.

Tamas Bauer, executive chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] told us that the Constitutional Court declared some of the complaints about the Bokros package as justified, but rejected others. Both decisions are extremely important; however, the SZDSZ will only be able to evaluate them in detail when they see the full text of the ruling and explanation.

Imre Konya, head of the parliamentary group of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], told us that the latest decision of the Constitutional Court proves that the government should not make such unprepared decisions in the future. At the same time, Imre Konya pointed out that it seems that the government failed to draw the necessary conclusions from the previous Constitutional Court ruling, because they submitted to Parliament new alternatives to the family allowance and then withdrew them by saying they now want to wait for the Constitutional Court decision. The MDF National Committee also discussed this issue on 13 September and came to the conclusion that the opposition's arguments in parliamentary debates have been justified.

The Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP] generally welcomes the decision of the Constitutional Court in connection with the Bokros package, with the exception of one provision—FKGP Chairman Jozsef Torgyan told us. He pointed out that the Court followed a correct line when it declared that the provisions of the Stabilization Law that limit the use of family allowance are unconstitutional. Jozsef Torgyan also welcomed the decisions on the sick pay, the accident fees of entrepreneurs engaged in supplementary activity, and the severance pay of public employees. However, Torgyan disagreed with the provision according to which people will have to pay for certain medical services, like dental care.

Jozsef Szajer, head of the parliamentary group of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ-MPP], told us that the Constitutional Court proved again that the Bokros package did not stand the constitutional test. Jozsef Szajer reminded us that the FIDESZ had already declared that the Bokros package failed from a moral, political, and constitutional viewpoint. The latest decision of the Constitutional Court is only an addition, and the ordeal of the Bokros package is expected to continue in October.

Jozsef Szajer told us that the FIDESZ had submitted two claims to the Constitutional Court on the content of the family allowance, welfare rights, and the legal institution of government auditors. At its latest decision, the Constitutional Court took these claims into consideration. In conclusion, Jozsef Szajer expressed his surprise over the fact that Finance Minister Lajos Bokros was still in his position after so many "Waterloo-type failures."

MSZP Official Views Plans for Demonstration

AU1409142595 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 14 Sep 95 pp 1, 5

[Interview with MSZP Executive Committee member Ivan Vitanyi by Tibor Franka; place and date not given: "In Smoke, One Can Only Suffocate Rather Than Burn—Vitanyi on Autumn in Hungary"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP] wants a hot summer, Party Chairman Istvan Csurka said in our issue of yesterday. They are organizing an anticoalition and antigovernment demonstration in Budapest on 23 October because they have had "enough lies, throwing people into poverty, closing schools, destroying the middle classes...," in brief, everything. What are the views of Ivan Vitanyi, parliamentary deputy and Executive Committee member of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], on the autumn in Hungary, the six-party talks that are to begin on 15 September, divisions within the MSZP, and finally the political relationship of Sandor Nagy [chairman of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions] and Gyula Horn.

[Franka] According to many, the demonstration announced for 23 October is the first step of the march, at the end of which, according to the organizers, the government will be overthrown and the coalition broken up. As far as I know, such an action against the whole Hungarian Government has not taken place since May 1994. Do you think that it will indeed happen this time?

[Vitanyi] If the MIEP has announced it and it keeps to its promise, then by all means, it will. However, for our part, there is nothing to say or to add to it, expect perhaps two things. One, owing to the nature of the action, we are not happy about such a demonstration, and second, I am personally not happy that it is being organized on 23 October, one of our national days. In my view, no one has the right to monopolize a national day. Otherwise, he can demonstrate when he wants....

[Franka] Regardless of this, do you also admit that the coalition and the government are not good at their jobs?

[Vitanyi] They are trying to carry out work that cannot really be done well to everyone's satisfaction. There are many mistakes but, in my view, they create more smoke than fire.... Of course, I must add that, although one cannot burn in the smoke, one can certainly suffocate.

[Franka] Many people think that the real goal of the six-party talks convened by Horn for 15 September is to hit back at the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], to annoy it even more.

[Vitanyi] I do not know if the prime minister has any secret intentions, and if he does, whether it is to annoy the SZDSZ. However, it is certain that, during the talks held separately with the opposition parties a few weeks ago, deputies of the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party, and perhaps the Hungarian Democratic Forum, too, asked the prime minister to have a joint, six-party meeting as soon as possible.

[Franka] In your view, if the opposition attends this, what will be on the agenda on 15 September?

[Vitanyi] In my view, they will attend because some parties have positively asked for this. I can only guess at the topics or the goal....

[Franka] In a year, the majority of the MSZP has become rather disappointed with the coalition, the MSZP's liberal wing, and, last but not least, Horn. Do you agree with this?

[Vitanyi] I am certain that they are disappointed, but we would need a vote to see precisely how many are.

[Franka] The MSZP will hold its congress in Miskolc in November. Many believe that it is here that Sandor Nagy will hit back at Horn, because he has been discredited and the coalition agreement has again proved to be stronger than the MSZP's electoral promises.

[Vitanyi] I do not know if Horn is afraid of Nagy. However, it is natural that everyone has to be afraid of everyone else because no one in this world ever agrees with anyone else on everything. It is a different matter as to who will be able to make the majority accept his own views.

[Franka] Laszlo Pal of the MSZP cannot be head of the MOL [Hungarian Oil and Natural Gas Corporation], and former minister Pal Kovacs, also of the MSZP, cannot even be a hospital director. At the same time, Andras Szolnoki of the SZDSZ can remain in her position, even though she placed one of her relatives in a leading position.

[Vitanyi] This random list does not prove that this is a general phenomenon, so I cannot do anything with it. Kinships exist and operate in other parties, in fact, in the whole society, too, and not only in the SZDSZ.

[Franka] Then I will ask it this way: Do the appointments reflect some liberal dominance?

[Vitanyi] In my view, this is not the case....

[Franka] We started this interview by saying that the MIEP wants a hot summer. You obviously do not, but are you afraid of October?

[Vitanyi] I have already mentioned that I do not like to make predictions. However, it will not be easy, this is certain.

Izetbegovic Explains Consent to Geneva Plan

AU1409111695 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 14-21 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency: "The Bitter Taste of Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting took place last Friday [8 September] in Geneva between the foreign ministers of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia, and an agreement was reached on several basic principles for future peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Nothing was signed, but several things were agreed and they will be the basis for the continuation of negotiations. I will try to present my personal view of this.

It was a classic compromise and every compromise carries a taste of bitterness with it.

What was agreed in Geneva? The most important things can be summed up in two points:

1. Bosnia-Herzegovina continues to exist as an integral and sovereign state, a member of the United Nations within its internationally recognized borders.

2. Bosnia-Herzegovina will in future consist of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serb Republic, with the internal demarcation of 51-49 percent in favor of the Federation.

Important Elements

The Serbs have had to recognize and accept the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina against which they have been waging war, and we have had to accept their republic created through aggression. They have also had to accept the 51-49 percentage deal in internal demarcation, which they opposed from the beginning, and there is also no confederation with Serbia.

These important elements, particularly that the Serb Republic is within Bosnia-Herzegovina and that there is no confederation, have been shrouded in silence by Karadzic's media, but deception and self-deception will change nothing.

Why have we accepted this compromise? The answer is simple: to stop the war. There has already been too much tragedy and suffering of the people, every day of the war claims more victims and creates more invalids, the refugees are losing patience and hope, and the number of refugees each day is not decreasing but increasing, as is the number of destroyed homes and factories. If the war continues, our prospects are bleak, since the world has made it clear that we have its support for peace but not for war. If we reject the kind of peace that the world thinks is reasonable, the arms embargo most certainly will not be lifted and pressure on our environs is also possible to obstruct our supplies for the continuation of the war. Since war by nature is a process difficult to control, its escalation is possible at any moment with the involvement of Serbia, Russia, and so on. If things were to go that way, everything would be at risk and everything could be lost.

The behavior of the West is not as illogical as it might seem. It is determined and will continue to be determined by the interests of certain countries and even more so by a fact that is rarely talked about: The fear of Russian nuclear bombs. Today that fear is greater than during the days of the Soviet Union. Then they were under full control, while these days any unpleasant surprise is possible. This fact, which is constantly on the minds of Westerners, but rarely mentioned, is being overlooked by our analysts. However, this is what is behind the "unreasonable" behavior of the West. This will continue to be the case, so, when we speak about war and peace in Bosnia, we should not lose track of this important element.

What Does the Federation Get?

The world is as it is and we cannot change it. What we can do is get to know it and not close our eyes to the facts.

What do we get out of this bitter peace? I will try to draw up a list:

1. The Federation gets 25 percent more Bosnia-Herzegovina territory, including, among other things, the towns of Bosanska Krupa, Sanski Most, Donji Vakuf, Jajce, Trnovo, Brcko, Odzak, Derventa, Doboj, Bosanski Brod, Bosanski Samac, and others. The Federation also gets a land link with Gorazde, which will lift the blockade of that town. It will most likely get Sarajevo, which will remain an undivided city. I say likely here because it is not certain, but it is certain enough. This is our condition and we will not give it up.

2. All our refugees can return, settle on this expanded territory of the Federation, and start to live normal lives.

3. Instead of humanitarian aid, we will get economic aid for the reconstruction of the country. By reopening factories, schools, and universities, and thus opening up prospects for normal lives for our citizens, we will be in a position to give our people work, our children schools, and our pensioners their pensions. Also systematic care for the invalids and the families of fighters killed could then be initiated.

4. Finally, the process of peaceful reintegration could then begin of the parts of Bosnia that are now under Chetnik control. This is a laborious task for the next two generations, but the two main preconditions for that would be created now:

First, the principle of an integral Bosnia, accepted by all the relevant countries in the world and now formally reiterated in Geneva, and

Second, the defended part of Bosnia, now constituted as the Federation, in which a high degree of political and economic development can and should be achieved.

The first is a formal, the second a realistic framework for the future reintegration of Bosnia. Whether we will take advantage of these opportunities depends largely on us, on who we are, and if we are capable of establishing a model of a democratic and progressive state in this part of Bosnia that will defeat the darkness in the fragmented bits and pieces of the so-called Serb Republic.

Where Is the Endurance Threshold?

There is only one alternative to this road: to continue the war to reintegrate Bosnia through military victory. Can we do that and how much would it cost, particularly in terms of human lives? How many more killed, how many more crippled, and how many more voluntary and forced refugees? We are a small nation. Where is the threshold of endurance of this nation? Have we not agreed that the war is destroying the very essence of Bosnia and that peace perhaps could save it? Have we not agreed that the continuation of war suits the war criminals from Pale, that war feeds and protects them, and that peace will be the end of them one way or another? Ethnic cleansing is what is destroying Bosnia. Just look what a setback it has been in that sense over the last few months after the crimes in Srebrenica, Zepa, and Banja Luka. Despite the successes of the army, Bosnia as a multiethnic community is further away than even a year ago. Will not the continuation of the war act in that direction?

Still, we will wage war if need be, but then we have to be sure that there is no other choice.

Izetbegovic, Holbrooke on Lifting Sarajevo Siege

AU1409164895 Paris AFP in English 1628 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 14 (AFP)—U.S. peace envoy Richard Holbrooke met Bosnia's President Alija Izetbegovic Thursday [14 September] to discuss latest initiatives to lift the siege of Sarajevo and forward the peace process for Bosnia.

The meeting started late afternoon in the southern Bosnian-Herzegovina town of Mostar, a Bosnian Government official said.

Holbrooke is to spell out details of a proposed accord discussed with Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic, who is believed to have pledged that heavy guns around Sarajevo will be withdrawn by the Bosnian Serbs, the official said.

A joint NATO-UN demand that Bosnian Serb troops pull back their heavy guns from around the city has not so far been met despite two weeks of NATO air strikes against Serb military targets.

General Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serb army general, has refused to order a withdrawal on the grounds that his forces would be vulnerable to a Bosnian Army attack.

Holbrooke's proposal is understood to involve the positioning of Russian troops around the city to hold frontlines while the guns are pulled back. A Bosnian Government source said Sarajevo was unhappy at the proposal.

"We do not want to comment on this idea, we see it simply as a Holbrooke initiative," the official, who requested anonymity, said.

"We have not had good experiences with Russian peacekeepers around Sarajevo. Last year, they stood by while the Serbs kept and fired their guns inside the city's exclusion zone," the official said.

In February 1994, a similar NATO ultimatum for Serb heavy guns to be withdrawn was not honoured but a compromise was made whereby Russian peacekeepers came into Serb-held parts of the city. Other peacekeepers watched over the guns in special artillery parks but the system collapsed earlier this year.

Start of Holbrooke, Izetbegovic Talks Viewed

AU1409183695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Sep 95

[Report by Zlata Behram from Mostar]

[FBIS Translated Text] A few minutes ago, after a long period of waiting, which was mostly due to the weather, the Bosnia-Herzegovina and the U.S. delegations met in Mostar today.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation in the talks held in the town on the Neretva River is headed by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. Apart from President Izetbegovic, the talks, which are still under way, are also attended by Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic and the Federation of

Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

As we have already said, the U.S. delegation arrived rather late. It arrived, nevertheless, with the following makeup: Richard Holbrooke, General Wesley Clark, Robert Owen, and U.S. Ambassador John Menzies. As we said, the talks are still under way, and we hope that we will learn more details about these extremely important talks in the course of the evening.

Izetbegovic-Holbrooke Meeting 'Extremely Useful'

AU1509084995 Paris AFP in English
0819 GMT 15 Sep 95

[By Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Sept 15 (AFP)—UN peacekeepers prepared Friday to monitor the withdrawal of Bosnian Serb heavy weapons from around Sarajevo Friday in what could be a breakthrough towards ending the 41-month siege of the city. [passage omitted]

Contact was made with local Bosnian Serb commanders overnight to start monitoring the removal of heavy weapons from the 20 kilometer (12 mile) exclusion zone around the city, UN officials said early Friday.

The announcement comes after intensive shuttle diplomacy in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia by the US peace envoy Richard Holbrooke secured an agreement from the Bosnian Serb military and political leadership to pull back most of the estimated 300 big guns that ring the city. [passage omitted]

The deal struck in Belgrade by Holbrooke with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and his military commander General Ratko Mladic on Wednesday is contigent on a Bosnian army pledge not to attack, UN officials said but gave no further details.

Holbrooke met Alija Izetbegovic, the Bosnian president, Thursday for talks on this issue but the meeting broke up without announcement. Further talks are anticipated Saturday.

A Bosnian government official described the meeting as "extremely useful." He added: "We are mostly happy with this outcome. We promised that we will have a ceasefire during the withdrawal and monitoring of the weapons. But let's wait and see if Mladic does withdraw the weapons. You know, you can never trust the Serbs." [passage omitted]

UN Redefines Serb 'Heavy Weapons' in Accord

AU1509075895 Paris AFP in English
0721 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 15 (AFP)—UN peacekeepers contacted local Bosnian Serb commanders overnight to begin the process of monitoring the removal of Serb heavy weapons from around Sarajevo under a U.S.-brokered deal to lift the siege of the city, UN officials said early Friday [15 September]. [passage omitted]

UN officials said the agreement required the Bosnian Serbs to pull back every heavy weapon over the calibre of 82-mm. The current UN definition of heavy weapons is every gun over the caliber 12.7-mm.

This will allow the Serbs to keep a number of light mortars, anti-aircraft cannon and light tanks within the zone, though officials said they did not know how many of this type of weapon there were around the city. [passage omitted]

Army Required To Tell Location of Heavy Weapons

AU1409173095 Paris AFP in English
1712 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 14 (AFP)—A deal clinched by U.S. peace envoy Richard Holbrooke, which is expected to be announced Thursday [14 September], will require government troops to divulge the whereabouts of their heavy weapons in return for the pull back of Bosnian Serb heavy guns from Sarajevo, western diplomatic sources said.

Holbrooke secured agreement for the withdrawal of heavy weapons from Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic during marathon talks Wednesday. He was meeting Bosnia's President Alija Izetbegovic Thursday to spell out the details of the arrangement, government officials said.

Under the scheme, the estimated 300 Bosnian Serb guns ringing the capital would be removed from the 20-kilometer (12-mile) exclusion zone over a six-day period.

In return, the Bosnian Army would have to reveal the location of a "substantial number" of their heavy guns but would be allowed to keep them within the city and in place, said a western diplomat, who requested anonymity.

Any breach of the agreement would lead to the threat of a "resumption of air operations," the diplomat said, adding that this applied to both sides.

The relevant clause in the deal refers to "any attacks concerning Sarajevo or other non-compliance would be subject to investigation and resumption of air operations."

The envoy admitted the language was "suitably vague" but in theory the threat did apply to the Serbs as much as to government troops.

Suggestions that Russian soldiers would be brought into Serb-held districts of the city to hold frontlines are incorrect, the diplomat said.

NATO: Pale Serbs To Lift Sarajevo Siege

AU1509063895 Paris AFP in English
0128 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Sept 15 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serbs agreed Thursday [14 September] to lift their siege of Sarajevo and NATO airstrikes on their positions have been halted for three days, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation said here early Friday.

NATO spokesman Jamie Shea made a similar statement to one by the United Nations in New York, saying an agreement was signed Thursday in Belgrade by the military and political leadership of the Bosnian Serbs that committed them to withdrawing their heavy weapons from the 20-kilometer (12-mile) exclusion zone around Sarajevo.

"NATO and United Nations military commanders have judged this to be an appropriate response to the demands by the United Nations," he said.

"Consequently they have announced a three-day suspension in NATO air operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

A diplomatic source said the NATO airstrikes, which began on August 30 in a bid to get the Serbs to pull back their artillery, had been called off at 10:00 p.m. (2200 GMT).

Shea said that "during the suspension, and on the basis of a similar commitment by the Serbs, humanitarian convoys will travel to Sarajevo on two roads through Serb territory that hitherto have been closed," the spokesman said.

"It is also expected that Sarajevo airport will shortly be reopened without restrictions."

Shea warned that the air raids would resume in the case of any failure to implement the agreement or any attack on the other UN-declared safe areas, the Serb-besieged towns of Tuzla, Bihac and Gorazde.

A diplomat said that during the suspension NATO plans would continue to overfly Bosnia on photographic and reconnaissance missions and as part of Operation Deny Flight, to prevent any air activity by the belligerents.

The three-day suspension is the second since the airstrikes, codenamed Operation Deliberate Force, were launched.

The first lasted from September 1 to September 5, and was aimed at giving the Bosnian Serbs pause for thought after the initial blows and to see if they would start withdrawing their weapons.

But the UN and NATO said the Serbs took advantage of the pause, for example by moving the guns into civilian areas.

Other brief halts in the campaign were as a result of bad weather or for contacts between the UN and the Bosnian Serbs, which turned out to be fruitless.

Contact Group To Hold Further Meeting in Moscow

AU1509115595 Paris AFP in English
1031 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Sept 15 (AFP)—A further meeting of the five-nation "Contact Group" on former Yugoslavia is envisaged in about two weeks' time in Moscow, a Western diplomat said here Friday [15 September].

The new round of talks would take place after further intensive negotiations with the parties to the Bosnian conflict conducted by U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke, Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov, and European Union mediator Carl Bildt, the diplomat said.

A meeting of the Contact Group—made up of Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States—is due here Friday to discuss developments following last week's accord with the foreign ministers of Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia on the "basic principles" for a political settlement to the Bosnian conflict.

Russia has been pressing for several weeks for an international conference to be held in Moscow to discuss the conflict.

The current round of U.S.-led diplomacy on Bosnia is aimed at reaching a rapid overall settlement, if possible by the end of the month.

Muratovic, EU Mediator Bildt Meet in Zenica

AU1309192395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hasan Muratovic, minister in the government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in charge of relations with United Nations, had talks with EU Peace Mediator Carl Bildt in Zenica today. Generals De Lapresle and Chris Eliot, as well as U.S., English, and French politicians were also in the EU delegation. Here is a report by Velida Kulenovic:

[Begin recording] [Kulenovic] Upon his arrival in Zenica, Carl Bildt said that he had talks with Serbian President Milosevic yesterday about the continuation of the peace process and wished to talk with Dr. Hasan Muratovic in Zenica in order to be able to get to know different parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In reply to the question of when the three presidents will sign the Geneva agreement, he said that it is still too early to speak about that.

Messrs. Bildt and Muratovic had talks behind closed doors, while Generals De Lapresle and Chris Eliot, as well as the U.S., English, and French politicians had talks with representatives of the Party of Democratic Action, the Croatian Democratic Community, and the Serbian Democratic Council about the parliamentary life in Zenica.

Following their meeting, Dr. Hasan Muratovic and Carl Bildt made brief statements:

[Muratovic] I have to say that this was a very constructive and productive discussion that represents a link with the principles that we adopted in Geneva, the explanation of these principles, and, generally, an agreement on further activities.

[Kulenovic] Mr. Bildt said that the talks were constructive and that the principles set up in Geneva were elaborated further. [end recording]

Political Parties Comment on Geneva Agreement

AU1409152495 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 14-21 Sep 95 pp 4-5

[Report by S. Kasalo: "Injustice or War?!"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] According to the majority of Bosnia-Herzegovina politicians, the basic principles for establishing peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina that the foreign ministers of our country, Croatia, and the so-called Yugoslavia agreed on in Geneva on 8 September lead to division and do not benefit the Bosnians.

The politicians take the view that in the preliminary document, "republika srpska" [Serb Republic] was entered in the official terminology without being placed within quotation marks, and that, instead of being essential, the issue of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina has become a formality.

The view of some of the political parties is that peace takes precedence over everything else and that the Geneva agreement secures this peace.

Edhem Bicakcic, member of the presidency and vice president of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action], is one of those politicians who claim that nothing better could have been achieved at this moment.

"Bosnia needs peace, Bosnia has been exhausted, Bosnia has been torched.

"People have been decimated," he stressed, adding that the "main thing is that the first article of the agreement emphasizes the fact that the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is an internationally recognized, sovereign, integral, and inviable state. The division on two entities is an internal issue. The external borders are inviable."

Bicakcic said that both entities may have special relations with neighbors, but this does not mean that they are leaving the unified state.

"Special relations refer to culture and business. They do not mean the right to annex a territory or something similar to that."

NATO Strikes Continue

According to the member of the presidency, this only represents a beginning of a serious peace process. NATO strikes will not stop with the Geneva agreement. The protected areas will be defended to the end.

"The Army of Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will not withdraw from anywhere. We can only get the territories on which we are not present at this moment. We will try to get Brcko and Doboj at any price. We are present in Gorazde, and Gorazde will remain ours. There will be no trade of territories," Bicakcic said. [passage omitted]

Small Consolation

According to Nijaz Durakovic, member of the presidency, the megalomaniac demands of Karadzic's Serbs will make it impossible to reach an agreement. The whole of the agreement was made under U.S. pressure and is intended to satisfy Milosevic. We have been put in the position of either continuing the war or accepting the initiative.

The balancing element in the U.S. initiative is contained in the first point, which states that the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is an internationally recognized subject, that it remains integral, and that its internationally recognized borders will be preserved. In Durakovic's view, however, this is a small consolation for us.

"What is the purpose of the phrases regarding Bosnia as a sovereign and indivisible state when, in fact, we already have divisions into two parallel constitutions, parallel legal and political systems, separate economies... with the danger of special relations transforming themselves in secession or some kind of confederal form?" Durakovic said. [passage omitted]

SDA Secretary General Mirsad Ceman said that every agreement must go through a debate and the adoption procedure in the assembly and that the agreement will be presented to the assembly for approval.

He said that we cannot be satisfied with the fact that the international community is offering a solution with two entities, but that it is important that we have retained the fundamental principles on the integrity and sovereignty of our country.

"It is in our interest that our state is protected, and the Geneva agreement has protected these principles," Ceman said.

The Muslim Bosniak Organization claims that the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is today experiencing a repeat of 1878, except that this time there is no Austro-Hungarian empire. The party warns that "someone" does not have the moral power to admit that the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has disappeared with this agreement.

"Three armies are three states. Three military structures, not connected in any way, cannot defend any state. We need an explanation of who is to protect the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, we want to know what the 'rearrangement of territories' means.... All this is full of unknowns. Mr. Sacirbegovic owes an explanation to our citizens about how he has saved the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina," said Mujo Kafedzic, vice president of the Muslim Bosniak Organization.

Recognized Power

Salih Foco, leader of the LBO [Liberal Bosniak Organization] said that the accepted agreement is damaging for the future of Bosnia and that Bosnia-Herzegovina is gradually disappearing with this agreement. [passage omitted]

The agreement between the foreign ministers of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and the so-called Yugoslavia is not the most fortunate solution, the Liberal Party members say, but the indefinite continuation of the war is not much better either. Their view is that, in the political sense, the war has ended and that ahead lies its final stage, which will be marked with difficult and protracted talks. The official statement issued by the party states that the party realizes that, like in many wars before, peace will defeat justice. [passage omitted]

"The agreement reached in Geneva does not satisfy fully the interests of the citizens of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina who voted at a referendum with 66 percent votes in favor of a unified, and integral Bosnia-Herzegovina," the Union of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats says. [passage omitted]

Commentary Opposes Plan To Demilitarize Sarajevo

AU1509102395 Sarajevo BOSNJACKI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 95 p 2

[Commentary by Adil Kapidzic: "Demilitarization of Sarajevo, Yes or No?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A point on which President Izetbegovic's plan and the U.S. initiative for the solution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina disagree is the military-political status of the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Namely, the Americans see Sarajevo as a UN procetorate, and to implement that idea certainly implies demilitarizing the Bosnian capital. Izetbegovic's plan, on the other hand, categorically refuses to hand the city over to the protection and government of the international community.

There are several reasons for such a reaction by the legal Bosnian authorities. The first and basic question that arises from a discussion on this subject is: What arguments are there for and against the idea of demilitarization? In any case, it is still unclear what the practicalities are of such a complex operation and what territory it would include.

Any comparison with the tragic destiny of Srebrenica, a former demilitarized zone under the protection of United Nations, makes every thought of a similar recipe for Sarajevo unacceptable. That is why the details of demilitarization, if it comes to that, have to be precisely and clearly defined from the very outset.

Reasons Against

One of the crucial military reasons why it would be hard to accept this is that such a situation would tie the hands of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in any action to lift the blockade of Sarajevo. Optimists, however, might say that demilitarization to a 20-km radius would effectively mean its deblockade.

But, is this really so?

What if this action only included the withdrawal of heavy weapons from the nearby Serb positions, but left armed Chetniks in place? It is more than clear that the rebel Serbs would then again have the possibility to control and prevent civilians, commercial goods, and humanitarian aid entering or leaving the city. Not to mention the ever-present Serb snipers.

An alternative scenario in which demilitarization would imply both the withdrawal of the Pale paramilitaries behind a line 20 km from the city and, at the same time, the arrival of Bosnian troops at that line would probably be acceptable to the Bosnian side. However, it is hard to believe in this variant, if one remembers that the Serbs would not accept anything of this kind without military coercion and, if it were attempted, the international community would restrain the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

There are many political reasons not to accept the demilitarization of Sarajevo, and thus also a UN protectorate. First, there is not one example in the world of a capital of a serious state that is not protected by its own armed forces and in which its forces are not stationed. That is a point that deeply interferes with the issue and meaning of national sovereignty.

Second, it is not illogical to compare a demilitarized Sarajevo under a UN protectorate with, for example, Banja Luka or Mostar. Why would the Bosniaks hand over a city in which they are a clear majority to be governed by the United Nations, if, at the same time, Serbs create ethnically clean territory in Banja Luka and consolidate their criminal regime, and, in the western part of Mostar, Croats recognize and implement only the rights of Croatian people?

And in a Sarajevo under a UN protectorate, (as that process goes on) the Serbs and Croats, together with the Bosniaks, share power with parity on a completely equal basis (regardless of the size of the ethnic communities). Because, we should not fool ourselves: The area envisaged in the Contact Group plan could, in the case of an ad hoc protectorate, be expanded to all parts of the city. Not to mention the demands that would then instantly follow, linked to the present demand of Croats and Serbs to have exclusively national municipalities on the territory of Sarajevo.

Possibility of an Affirmative Reply

In that way, they (the Serbs and Croats) would obtain the possibility of participation in the city authorities on two levels. The Bosniaks must not and will not allow such a development of the situation.

The only argument against what has been said and which favors demilitarization and protectorate is that it would secure more or less normal conditions in the city, the psychological recuperation of the population, and the free movement of goods, capital, and people. For these positive effects alone, demilitarization should not be rejected out of hand.

But, of course, with prior guarantees of its optimal enforcement. Because, without such guarantees and a quality "performer," (which could only be NATO), the talks about demilitarization and a UN protectorate should not even be started.

Government Defends Croat-Bosnian Offensive

AU1409122795 Paris AFP in English
1204 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 14 (AFP)—Senior government officials defended the military offensives against the Bosnian Serbs in central Bosnia Thursday, shrugging off criticism they had taken advantage of the NATO air campaign.

"These events will help a lot the whole peace process. They can speed up that process," Hasan Muratovic, minister for relations with the UN peacekeeping forces said.

Wednesday saw both Bosnian Croat and Bosnian government forces make major advances against Bosnian Serb positions in western Bosnia. UN officials that the combined gains amounted to some 2,000 square kilometers (700 square miles) or six percent of territory.

The Bosnian Serbs controlled before this about 70 percent of Bosnia. Under an international peace plan partially accepted by all sides in the conflict, the Serbs would end up with some 49 percent of the country.

The offensive though has caused concern among NATO allies and particuarly the Atlantic alliance Secretary General Willy Claes. NATO war planes have been raiding Bosnian Serb military installation in the east of the country and around Sarajevo.

UN officials dispelled accusations that NATO air power had directly assisted the offensives but agreed that the effect of the airstrikes had affected the Bosnian Serb army's ability to issue orders and resupply or reinforce its troops in the west and north of the country.

Muratovic however saw the combined effect of ground action and air strikes as positive. "We think that NATO must continue, we must continue, Ambassador Holbrooke must continue," he said referring to the US peace envoy currently heading the drive to secure a peaceful settlement of the war.

Holbrooke was in Zagreb Thursday to meet with Croatia's president Franjo Tudjman after meeting with President Slobodan Milosovic of Serbia on Wednesday. The US diplomat secured an agreement in Geneva last week from Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia to a series of basic principles as a basis for a settlement to the conflict.

A senior aide to Bosnia's president Alija Izetbegovic defended the military action taken by government forces in which they captured the town of Donji Vakuf.

"Do you know how many people were expelled from (this town) and Jajce (captured by the Croats), it was 70 percent Moslem and Croat before the war," the aide said.

UN: Bosnian, Croat Armies Took 2,000 Sq Kms

AU1409115795 Paris AFP in English
1139 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 14 (AFP)—The offensive launched by Croat and Bosnian Government troops has yielded a huge swathe of territory in western Bosnia, amounting to some six per cent of the country, UN officials said here Thursday [14 September], adding that the claimed successes remained unconfirmed.

Government and Bosnian Croat army officials said at least four key towns were seized in a joint operation. Television pictures Wednesday evening showed Croatian forces parading through the streets of two important towns in central Bosnia Wednesday.

Bosnian Radio reported that government forces now controlled the town of Donji Vakuf, central Bosnia, in what was their first success in recapturing a town rather than strategic heights or facilities.

UN military spokesman Chris Vernon estimated the claimed advances to measure "some 2,000 square kilometers or 700 square miles which would be about six percent of the total area of Bosnia."

"We cannot confirm these claims in details as we do not have a presence in these areas. We have no reason not to believe the Croatian media reports that the (Croat forces) have made these gains," he said.

Another UN spokesman, Chris Gunness, said the Croat advance was part of an "on-going operation that was already two months old." Prior to the advance into western Bosnia, the regular Croatian Army overran the Serb-held Krajina region in Croatia itself.

Last winter, Bosnian Croat forces, supported by the Croatian Army, inched their way northwards along a mountain range running the length of the Bosnian-Croatian border in the west, gains that were pivotal in the Krajina success in August.

From border positions in the newly conquered Krajina region, a troop build-up and shelling into Serb-held Bosnia had been reported by UN peacekeepers, Gunness said.

Addressing the accusation that government and Croat forces had taken advantage of NATO air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs, Vernon said there "was no direct relation" between the two actions.

However, he conceded that the NATO action against Bosnian Serb military installations and communications would have "affected the ability to control troops in that area and to use resupply logistically through the Posavina corridor."

The Posavina corridor is a sliver of territory in northeast Bosnia controlled by the Serbs but the only link between Serb-held eastern Bosnia and the main northern and central parts of the country under their control.

NATO planes have hit bridges and roads in eastern Bosnia, along with ammunition dumps, radar and radio installations and logistical facilities such as repair workshops.

Army Spokesman on Amount of Territory Liberated

AU1409194095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Sep 95

[Statement by Ferid Buljubasic, spokesman of the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, for Radio Sarajevo in Sarajevo on 14 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the last five days, the units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], and the Croatian Army have scored considerable combat successes on the battlefields of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The units of the 2d Corps and the 3d Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army have liberated Vozuca and its surroundings. On the map, you can see the line held earlier by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Now, the line held by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army runs here. This constitutes a liberated territory of some 150 to 160 square kilometers. With the liberation of the Vozuca region, we destroyed a Chetnik bastion, placed the Zavidovici-Vozuca-Banovici road completely under our control, and also we seized considerable quantities of arms and ammunition, several hundred rifles, four tanks, four self-propelled guns, and a great quantity of artillery pieces that are important for further Bosnia-Herzegovina Army actions toward Doboj. We shortened the defense line of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army so that the sizable forces that used to defend this area can now be deployed in an offensive toward Doboj. In this part of the front, the cooperation of the units of the 2d and 3d Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army was especially pronounced, meaning an extremely well-planned and coordinated action that produced such major combat results and successes.

The 7th Corps units attacked the territory stretching from Galica, across Komar and Donji Vakuf to Demirovac, along a front line that was more than 30-km wide. In the actions, the Galica Plateau was completely liberated. We also gained complete control of the Komar mountain pass and liberated Donji Vakuf. We captured domineering positions in Demirovac and Dekla and placed the Donji Vakuf-Jajce road under our control. The units of the 7th Corps also liberated more than 200 square kilometers of territory, Drvar, and a strategically extremely important Komar mountain pass, as well as Demirovac, from which the Chetniks controlled the access to Kupres, the wider Kupres region, and Kupresko Polje. With these activities, the 7th Corps units moved the front line deep into the occupied territory, so that Bugojno, Turbe, and Travnik are now at the extreme reach of the Chetnik long-range artillery. The actions of the 7th Corps continue, and we expect favorable news from this front and an even greater expansion of the liberated territory in the area around Donji Vakuf in the next few hours.

In their offensive, the units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina 5th Corps Army conquered all of Grmec Plateau, that is, all of Turski Kozjen, Hrgar, Ribce, the region of [word indistinct], that is, they reached Grmec Plateau and are continuing their offensive toward Bosanski Petrovac and Kulen Vakuf. Just before I came here, I received the news that the 5th Corps units had already entered Kulen Vakuf and that they were very close to entering the town of Bosanski Petrovac. The liberated territory amounts to some 400 square kilometers. The units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army reached have a sizable portion of the Bosnia-Herzegovina border with Croatia. We have created favorable conditions for further offensives toward Kljuc, that is, toward [words indistinct] and Sanski Most.

During these four days, the units of the HVO and the Croatian Army also carried out offensives from the lines they held previously and gained complete control of, that is, liberated, Sipovo, Jajce, and Drvar and have now directed their activities toward Mrkonjic Grad, both from the direction of Sipovo and also from the direction of Jajce.

Together with the liberated territories of the 2d, 3d, 5th and 7th Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Corps and the liberated territories of the HVO and Croatian Army units, the free territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina under the control of the Federation has been expanded by approximately 3,000 square kilometers, which is approximately 6 percent of the overall territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This has created favorable conditions for further attacks along the Vrbas valley toward Banja Luka, that is, toward Kljuc, and from Grmec toward Sanski Most. We have seized a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition in all areas of activity of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units and the HVO. We have liquidated a great number of the aggressor's soldiers, while many of them were captured.

Corps Commander on Capture of Donji Vakuf

LD1309231895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 13 Sep 95

[Studio interview with Brigadier General Mehmed Alagic, commander of the 7th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Senad Hazifeizovic—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Hazifeizovic] Can you tell us what is the latest information you have?

[Alagic] I can tell all viewers and listeners that units of the 7th Corps are entering Donji Vakuf and I would like to say something to the residents of Donji Vakuf and the members of the Serb army. They know that we have taken territory on the left bank of the River Vrbas and the observation post, and that Donji Vakuf is ours. All points which [words indistinct] have already been eliminated. Most of their soldiers have laid down their weapons. They have surrendered to the fighters of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Therefore we are calling on them to spare their own lives and to militarily surrender in the correct manner because we will treat them correctly and humanely. It is my duty and obligation to call on them to surrender and to adhere to the Geneva Convention, and to the provisions of international law, and I invite them to surrender honourably. [passage omitted]

[Hazifeizovic] General, you are probably aware yourself of this historical moment which you are (?describing) on Bosnia-Herzegovina TV. Congratulations to you and your soldiers, sincere congratulations from Sarajevo.

Please explain to us, as far as you can, as far as tactical and strategic considerations allow [words indistinct], the exact situation in that operation, in Donji Vakuf, Jajce, Sipovo. [passage omitted]

[Alagic] It is correct that Croatian units have entered Sipovo. It is also true that they are entering Jajce. [words indistinct] and from the village of Sipovo they are attacking and advancing on Mrkonjic. Together with units of the 7th Corps we are continuing (?to) Donji Vakuf and deeper into the territory.

[Hazifeizovic] After all this, presumably you will not stop. What are the goals of the 7th Corps of the

Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the continuation of this liberation action?

[Alagic] [words indistinct] in Banja Luka.

Federal Assembly To Meet in Zenica on 19 Sep

AU1209143395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The session of the Constituent Assembly has been convened for 19 September. Following the consultations with the Collegium of the Constituent Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the heads of the deputy caucuses of the Croat and Bosniak peoples, and the heads of deputy caucuses of the political parties represented in the Constituent Assembly, Assembly Chairman Mariofil Ljubic has determined that all the preparations for holding the next session of the Constituent Assembly have successfully been completed. This was stated in a communique issued by Ljubic's office.

The Constituent Assembly chairman has convened the 8th Session of the Constituent Assembly for Tuesday, 19 September. It will be held in Zenica. It will be held in the municipal assembly building and will start at 1200 [1000 GMT]. The agenda of the Constituent Assembly and its working groups and clubs includes the current political-security situation in the Federation and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a report on progress made in setting up federal authorities and the implementation of the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and 16 draft laws prepared by the Government of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

HBS Leader Says Bosnia Cannot Be Divided

BR1509143595 Paris LE FIGARO in French 15 Sep 95 p 4

[Article by Catherine Monnet: "The Unstoppable Croatian-Muslim Advance in Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo—His finger traced a line across the map from left to right, from Var to Jajce in central Bosnia. With a smile, Dida Zvonimir Skokovic indicated the latest territorial gains made by the Croatian Army, its HVO [Croatian Defense Council] allies (the Bosnian Croats), and Bosnian troops. The secretary general of the HBS [Croatian Nationalist Party], which is fighting alongside the Bosnian Croats, repeated the figure heard this morning on radio broadcasts coming from Zagreb: 2,000-square km of territory recaptured from the Bosnian Serbs in a few days. "The operation lasted less than 92 hours," the former soldier proudly affirmed. [passage omitted]

A little later during our conversation he also recognized that "this opening made along the Vrbas River is a first step in the direction of Banja Luka," the only major city controlled by the Serbs in northern Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Mr. Skokovic, who is in his late fifties, became even more evasive when it came to detailing the next objectives of the Croatian and Bosnian Armies. He merely explained that the plan put forward by Washington was unacceptable. "Bosnia cannot be divided. We can only have one country, with the same laws and identical rights for all."

On the map of the former Yugoslavia placed in front of him, Mr. Skokovic ended by pointing to northern Bosnia, which is currently controlled by the Bosnian Serbs. He paused for a long time at the Brcko corridor in northeastern Bosnia. "It must be retaken," he explained. "This passage serves as a link between Belgrade and the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb Republic." [passage omitted]

Karadzic: Croatia Escalating Aggression

LD1509141195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1259 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 15 Sep (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, said in Banja Luka last night that the situation in former Bosnia-Herzegovina is exceeding the framework of a civil war, and warned that the world must impose sanctions on Croatia because of its attacks on the Serb Republic.

Karadzic said that the people of the Serb Republic, regardless of the double sanctions over the past three-and-a-half years of war, have succeeded in maintaining a strategic balance with so-called domestic enemies—the Muslims and Croats from former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Now we are being attacked by Croatia, the country in possession of important military technology, whose appetite for war has now been whetted," Karadzic said after a joint session of the Supreme Command, the government, and the Serb Republic Army General Staff. He went on to say: "What Croatia is doing is an example of how to escalate aggression. The Serb army must invest extra efforts to liberate the occupied municipalities. The whole Serb nation must come to our side and help free us from Croatian aggression."

President Karadzic confirmed a possibility of redeploying Russian units to the area near Sarajevo, explaining that such an agreement was reached with the U.S. negotiating team with the help of President Milosevic.

"If the Muslims accept this agreement, it could be signed in four days' time with a possibility of extending it to cover the entire republic," Karadzic said.

He said that the international community is accelerating its efforts to find a peaceful solution, and that many political circles are saying the war could be over in two-four weeks.

"Despite these stories, the Serb people and army must be prepared, as enemy intentions can never be known," Karadzic warned.

Speaking about the consequences of NATO air strikes on the Serb Republic, Karadzic said that final figures are not yet established, but that damage is estimated at $2 billion.

Karadzic added that many civilians have been killed in NATO air strikes, and every NATO member state must bear responsibility for this.

The president denied the existence of maps showing border separations in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, stressing that the situation on the ground will have a considerable effect on drawing any maps.

"We will not accept the results of Croatia's conquests because this is a brutal aggression against a purely Serb territory," Karadzic said.

Karadzic on Serb Army Meeting, Croatian Army

LD1509135195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1003 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 15 Sep (TANJUG)—More than 50,000 refugees from Sipovo, Srbobran, Jajce, Mrkonjic Grad, and Kljuc have arrived in Banja Luka fleeing from the Croat-Muslim offensive, which is not abating despite the recommendation of the UN Security Council that there should be restraint from offensive actions, and the decision on the three-day suspension of NATO air strikes in Bosnia.

The Croatian and Muslim forces have taken advantage of the attacks by NATO aircraft to launch fierce attacks in the past few days against southern and western parts of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic.

TANJUG's correspondent reports from Banja Luka that the refugees, in rain and cold weather, are heading through Banja Luka toward Sanski Most, Prijedor, Novi Grad, and Kozarska Dubica, designated by the Serb Republic headquarters for the reception of refugees as reception centers.

This is the fourth major wave of refugees this year to pass through Banja Luka. Banja Luka and other Krajina towns do not have adequate facilities to assist these refugees, and help from humanitarian organizations is essential.

Serb Republic trade unions yesterday sent an appeal to the entire trade union membership and all humanitarian organizations and citizens of the Serb Republic and Yugoslavia to help the refugees.

Banja Luka remains in a communications blackout so that information gets through slowly or not at all.

Last night, in Banja Luka, there was a joint session of the Supreme Command of the armed forces of the Serb Republic, the General Staff of the Army and the government of the Serb Republic. President of the Serb Republic Radovan Karadzic said after the close of the meeting that the decisions adopted at the session will be announced during the evening of 15 September, and they will be "binding for all organs of the Serb Republic." He stressed that a strong Croat-Muslim offensive is under way, in which regular forces of the Republic of Croatia are also taking part.

According to him, the Serb Republic Army had hitherto maintained an equilibrium with the Muslims and Croats of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, but that this balance was upset when the Serb Republic Army found itself facing units of the Republic of Croatia.

The Socialist Party of the Serb Republic issued a proclamation yesterday stressings that "the fatherland is in danger, and that our borders are being assailed by those who want to humiliate and enslave us," which must not be allowed.

Krajisnik Views U.S. Plan, NATO Strikes

AU1509091095 Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 9-10 Sep 95 pp 2-4

[Interview with Pale assembly chairman Momcilo Krajisnik by Gordan Matrak, editor in chief of GLAS SRPSKI, and Nenad Novakovic, its general manager in Pale; date not given: "We Have Our State and We Shall Defend It, Too"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] These are historic times, about which future generations will learn from textbooks. The participants in these events may not make a mistake, although they are only human. With NATO pilots and commanders raging above the defenseless and innocent Serb civilians throughout the territory of the Serb Republic [Serb-held entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina], we have been talking to Mr. Momcilo Krajisnik, the chairman of the national assembly of the Serb Republic. There are many reasons for interviewing him, but let us mention just a few: He is the chairman of the parliament of the Serb Republic, a member of the united delegation for negotiations and a participant in several talks recently held in connection with the current peace plan. Mr. Krajisnik asked us to move to a safer place, for our own safety, since the threats of the Western strategists are clear and unambiguous: There is no mercy toward anyone. The interview was overshadowed by the sinister noise of aircraft, missiles, and bombs, but this is all part of our work and duties.

[GLAS SRPSKI] We are talking in a backup office, since yours could be hit by NATO aircraft at any moment. What are the effects of the NATO bombing of the Serb Republic, which has already been going on for seven days?

[Krajisnik] The crime committed against the Serb people is an unbelievable attack on the civilian population. The effects are very negative, very great in other words, and there is much damage and many victims. We are a proud people, however, and we do not want to be trapped by our enemies, who want us to state that we are victims and all those things that have always been wrong. [sentence as published] We do not want to say that we are the scapegoats in this difficult war; we shall leave this for some other time. In spite of the heavy strikes, the spreading of fear, and attacks on morale, we can say that the effects of the NATO attacks are completely the reverse: People are determined to defend their homes and the Serb Republic. The morale of the soldiers is higher, as they have become stubborn, than could be expected from the actual situation, because it is dreadful when a 1,000-kg bomb lands. Its effects are devastating, it rips up transmitters and houses and destroys everything around it. As soon as it becomes quiet, however, people immediately reroof the houses, look to see if anyone has died and what the damage is, just as if nothing had happened. The phenomenon that the destruction causes among Serbs is astonishing. The greater the destruction, the greater the resistance of the people toward the strikes. There are two reasons for this: The Serbs have developed stubbornness; they are fighting for survival. The Serbs have seen what it means to lose one's home, what it means to lose one's state and have to go somewhere into uncertainty, not knowing where one is going or where one will end up. The second reason is that an agreement has been achieved that the Serb people will have a single delegation to represent them. The Serbs have accepted this medicine, believing that nobody but God can harm them if they are united. These are the most important elements for survival and a decisive struggle. We have held a meeting with the chairmen of the municipalities, the commanders of brigades, and other active people and we have seen that, unlike the previous period, they are prepared to make all possible sacrifices. Each one of them decisively said: "We simply will not give up our state and the right to constitute it. Therefore the bombing, regardless of how horrible their consequences are—and I believe that the damage runs into billions of dollars—is counterproductive and the Serbs are most powerful when they are up against it."

[GLAS SRPSKI] Will the bombing, which is still going on, affect the course of the peace process? In other words, what kind of relationship can be expected between the delegation and the peace initiatives from those who are killing innocent civilians?

[Krajisnik] NATO has undermined the peace process. We believe that this was done deliberately, because it is not the aim of NATO to have the Serbs withdraw their weapons to positions from which they could easily be used if Serb [occupied parts of] Sarajevo is attacked, since it has not been envisaged that the weapons be put under the control of NATO; the weapons would remain under Serb control. Their aim is to have the Serbs not withdraw the weapons, so that they have a pretext for the strikes. With their strikes they want to weaken the morale and strength of the defense of Serb Sarajevo, which is a completely wrong tactic. The Muslims [Bosnia-Herzegovina Government] want to interrupt the peace initiative and the talks, so that the United States will have great difficulties in solving this problem, because the strikes have resulted from its initiative and, if it does not find a solution, this will be a catastrophe for its initiative. The United States has overcome this dilemma with Holbrooke's statement that the negotiations will be held regardless of the bombing. This means that it has calculated on the Serbs resisting.

[GLAS SRPSKI] You have held two talks with Mr. Bildt. You had the opportunity to look directly at the plan that is being offered now. What does it offer to the Serb people, what does it deprive them of, and how realistic is it at the present moment?

[Krajisnik] The basic trap that the West wanted the Serbs to fall into was that it wanted to talk with us and not with Serbia. They wanted to discredit Serbia and Yugoslavia. Those who thought that the West would not talk with the Serbs from the Serb Republic but with Yugoslavia were wrong. We explained to them, however, that it was of interest to the West to talk with us and not with Serbia. They said themselves that it was cheaper to make a deal with the Serb Republic than with Yugoslavia. They know exactly what our requirements are: We want a state and a 20-km wide corridor with the Sava River as the border, because then we can connect the western part of our state with the Kozara and Grmec regions.

Regarding the eastern part, we cannot accept the existence of enclaves that would be connected. We do not oppose the idea of Gorazde remaining an enclave. We have to have access to the sea. As for Sarajevo, we have insisted on a deal; we have insisted on having two cities. We agree that the Muslims get Sarajevo as well as the Serbs and we shall not relinquish our part of it. They have correctly presented our requirements in the talks. The West accepts that we are a state consisting of two parts and that the 49:51 percentage is problematic if it is understood as an imperative. A new principle has to be developed. This is the existence of two states and it has now been heard from Western officials for the first time that two states would be established. For the sake of the West and its reputation, this should be a loose union, which would be only one UN member, but all the other constituent components would be at the level of either the Serb Republic or the the Muslim-Croatian federation. This means that we would have an army, currency, police, laws, parliament, and, apart from that, we could have confederal links with Serbia, that is Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

[GLAS SRPSKI] Whose initiative was it to establish a single Yugoslav delegation, that is consisting of members from Serbia and the Serb Republic?

[Krajisnik] At our last meeting with Bildt, we asked him what he thought about improving our relations with Serbia. He said that it would be good. The initiative came from Serbia and we accepted it. We said we thought we knew what the West wanted. We concluded that when the problem of our state was discussed, nobody's vanity, personal interests and nobody's entitlement to be angry could be in the foreground. We think that the Serb Republic coming closer to Serbia, that is Yugoslavia, is very important and far-reaching. [passage omitted]

[GLAS SRPSKI] How would you comment on the frequent statements made by Muslim-Croatian representatives that they cannot allow the Serbs to have their own state and that they want a kind of guardianship over the Serbs. I do not know what the situation would be like if a Muslim representative, a statesman, came to Banja Luka or Trebinje. How do they imagine that such a state could function?

[Krajisnik] If this had not been said seriously, it would be ridiculous. I have to say that Muslim customs officers probably very often think that they can cure leukemia with a tranquilizer. [sentence as published] That is how they behave, too. I do not think that there is one international politician who has not laughed at this attitude. The best answer was once given by Mr. Owen [title as published], who told them that it did not mean that they were entitled to a part of Banja Luka if the Serbs got a part of Sarajevo. There are no trenches in Banja Luka, nor is there a front line between them and us, but in Sarajevo there is a front line between Serbs and Muslims. Mr. Owen told them that they had to understand that Sarajevo had to be divided, adding that Banja Luka was not a topic for discussion, just as Zenica is not, for example. This unrealistic thinking is dangerous and the Muslims are trying to feign a state now. [passage omitted]

[GLAS SRPSKI] Let us leave the Muslims with their worries and illusions. Is the plan on offer more favorable, better, and more realistic than the Vance-Owen plan, the Contact Group plan, and the latest one?

[Krajisnik] When we speak about this problem, we always have to bear in mind that one certain part of the territory is no more important than another. In terms of the interest of the state, it is better to have a 20-km wide corridor along the Sava River than the solution offered by the Contact Group, or, even worse, by the Vance-Owen plan. The state of the Bosnian Serbs would not be of much use if it consisted only of Herzegovina and Romanija, if there were no Krajina [western Bosnia], or if we had Krajina only.

I would only like to mention completely realistic things. We must have a 20-km wide corridor along the Sava River. We must have access to the sea even though we do not hold that territory now. We shall never agree to the part of the Contact Group plan that placed the Kozara and Grmec regions very deep within the Muslim state.

In general, I do not want to discuss whether Jajce, Srbobran [Serb occupiers' name for Donji Vakuf], etc. will be on this or the other side. I avoid this on purpose, although I know what the ethnic areas are and what the Contact Group plan is. Furthermore, we cannot accept Zepa and Srebrenica as enclaves in our territory. Gorazde could remain an enclave. If we have these three main things, everything else is negligible. This is much better than the Contact Group plan. Nobody would ever accept abandoning Brcko. Even today the Muslims say that they have to take Brcko from us, not to get it.

[GLAS SRPSKI] Looking at the situation objectively, what are our chances of returning to the Neretva River?

[Krajisnik] Through the president we have informed the Croats that we want to have a part of Neretva. I do not know whether this will be the part from Ortjes to Prebilovci and Klepci, which is the area from which 45,000 Serbs fled, whom we do not know where to accommodate now. We would like to have a part of the Neretva bank; we should make a deal. We are not saying that the Muslims and the Croats will not be able to live in Mostar or the Neretva valley, only because we are very close to them. It is true that they are close to our forces, but we do not want to wage war now. Nobody will be able to live on the left bank of the Neretva in Mostar without making a deal with the Serbs. We do not know whether there will be understanding for our wishes, but we are interested in Dubrave, Buna, Ortjes, Klepci, Prebilovci and Zitomislic. We must regain the destroyed Serbian monastery built in the middle ages in our possession. [passage omitted]

[GLAS SRPSKI] Can we, in other words, say that the war has reached its final stage, which all of us would like to see?

[Krajisnik] We have a great chance of getting a state and when I say "getting" I mean that we have to round it off, as our wonderful poet Djogo said. The Serb Republic can be compared to a peasant who buys some property. He likes it all, from the first to the last field, the house and the stables, but he cannot enter it all in the estate register. We have our state, but we have to enter it into the "register," and I hope that this will be the case soon. We must not speculate about the end of the war, since there are chances that it is over soon, but there are also chances that it will go on, so we have to prepare ourselves for both possibilities. I hope—not for our own sake but for the sake of the West—that this is the final stage, but only if we remain firm and strong, if we state clearly what we want. If we demand what we are entitled to, I am sure that there will be understanding for us, because a nation that is decisive and powerful enough to oppose the whole world, as we are, is entitled to have a state, too. We are admired by a large part of the democratic world, because not all of the Western countries are against us. There are some Dutch pilots who have already shown disobedience by refusing to fight in the region; there are also UN Protection Force members who do not want to come to this area, such as those who had been arrested in our areas, so they could see what we are like and they admired our soldiers and people. The message to our people should be: We have a state and we can defend it only if we are aware of what it means and how important this is. We have nowhere to go. Serbia is our home country, but we can only be our own masters here where we were born, where we live, and where we can survive. Therefore, even if we had two lives, it would be worth sacrificing both for these aims, although there should be as few victims as possible and although we have to save as many of our men as possible. The sooner the war is over, the sooner peace will be established, but there is no alternative to the establishment of our state and our freedom. Without a state and freedom, a nation is only a biological entity that disappears quickly and ceases to exist without leaving behind any trace of its existence. Therefore, we would like to address the following message to our population from the Serb Krajina [formerly Serb-occupied region of Croatia]: If God helps us to liberate our state, this country will be theirs, too; they deserve it, because we have effectively decided on unity by signing the Prijedor declaration. What is ours will be theirs too, and nobody will be more entitled to the Serb Republic than the Krajina population.

[Box, p 2]

A Step Toward a Unitary State

[GLAS SRPSKI] Now that agreement has been reached that there would be a unitary Serbian delegation, are we a step closer to a unitary Serbian state?

[Krajisnik] Whenever the Serbs are united, they will establish a state, even if it is only a confederation. We now want the links to be as strong as possible and we want to persevere. There is no greater guarantee for a unitary Serbian state than the existence of the Serb Republic and our persistence over this requirement. If we in the Serb Republic had not insisted on it, if we had not liberated our ethnic territories, if we had not broken away from the Muslims and Croats, this unitary state would not have come into existence for a very, very long time. In this way we are much closer to our state. I hope that the longest part of the way to the unitary Serbian state is behind us now.

[Box, p 3]

Open, Honest, and Public

[GLAS SRPSKI] Let us return to our internal relations and the conflict between the political and the military leaderships. Has the joint agreement and the brutal aggression from outside made relations normal again? What are they like now?

[Krajisnik] When you think as a private person, you consider every giving in a defeat, but in politics you have to think in terms of what is possible. There are two men in me too: One is the private Momcilo Krajisnik and the other is Momcilo Krajisnik as chairman of the parliament and the man responsible for his part for the Serb Republic and the Serb people. When I speak personally, I would do many things differently from officially and I think that, as assembly chairman, I work much more wisely than I would ever work as Momcilo Krajisnik privately. I think that it was very wise of Karadzic to offer reconciliation, thus eliminating all those who wanted the rift to go on. The rift was public, unfortunately; it would not have been as big if it had not been public. Our people are also now led by common people, who cannot be but open, honest, and public.

This was our important quality: If we had not behaved in this way, people would not have trusted us. You see, when we made the agreement with Yugoslavia, I invited the independent deputies' club and the club of SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] deputies, and we discussed everything with them, since they should not hear about it through mediators. If there is trust between us, it is guaranteed that we shall not betray each other or do something that would be only in the interest of one side.

I saw that their response was positive, I saw that they still trust the leadership, that they will do everything they can. Let me go back to the rift, however. After president Karadzic took the second step, relations completely changed. We had a meeting in Belgrade with several generals and, when people communicate, the differences become smaller. Our people were also happy that the general staff and the state leadership, as well as the leadership of Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic, had agreed on their attitudes. Obstacles can be overcome only by wise policies.

[Box, p 4]

We Shall Defend Sarajevo

[GLAS SRPSKI] The conditions set by NATO, that is the United Nations, amount to blackmail, to use a euphemism. We had the opportunity to hear and see that the population of Sarajevo, women and children, had prevented our soldiers from withdrawing the heavy weapons, saying that they would rather endure the bombing than allow the Muslims to find them without weapons. How can we accept the ultimatum that is pressing on us from all sides?

[Krajisnik] Ultimatums are a humiliation for the Serb people, but NATO and the United Nations are wrong if they think that we have accepted the ultimatums for their own sake. I have always pointed out that it was rational from our point of view to accept ultimatums, because if we opposed them, and we would have to oppose a respectable power, this would lead to an abyss, everything we have achieved so far would be destroyed, this would be like a collective suicide for us. [sentence as published]

I would like to repeat that the Serbs do not accept ultimatums; they have in principle not accepted a single one, but they have found a solution to move away from the raging bull and still fulfill their interests and achieve their aims. Concretely, this is an unscrupulous and tactless NATO move, made by a power whose aim it is not to bring about what it talks about all the time. Its primary aim is not to liberate Sarajevo, to open it up, but to say: "Here you are, Sarajevo is open."

We said a long time ago that we would open "the blue routes," that we would enable electricity, water, and natural gas to get into the city. It was not we who prevented this, but the Muslims before their offensive started. NATO's aim is to hand over Sarajevo to the Muslims. They now want to weaken our defense to enable the Muslims to take the city. We know that, and it is our plan, the details of which are naturally secret, to defend Sarajevo and to withdraw the heavy weapons. When I say this, it sounds unrealistic, but that is how it is, and I would not like to explain this in detail, since it is a state secret. We cannot disclose our tactics to the people. We are enduring the bombing, but we do not want to move out of this area, because we know that the disarmament of the Serb people—and the Serb people are the Serb army—is what NATO wants, so as to enable the Muslims to take the whole city of Sarajevo. We cannot give them Sarajevo, because we have no possibility to withdraw and accommodate 100,000 people. Nor do we have the possibility to enable all those who left it to return; you must know that over 200,000 Serbs lived here before the war.

The Serbs have always lost more in peace than in war. In peacetime we lost because the leaderhip illegally helped the Muslims to take Sarajevo block by block, district by district. They allowed the Muslim population to move in, the ethnic structure to be changed in the center, but, as a region, Sarajevo is a predominantly Serb area. Therefore, it is very strange that the Serbs have only "the wreath," the circle that surrounds Sarajevo, as they put it. This is the ethnic area held by the Serbs now.

Krajisnik Comments on Sarajevo Agreement

LD1509114295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1022 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 15 Sep (SRNA)—Representatives of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and the United States of America reached agreement in Belgrade yesterday on the cessation of air strikes against the Serb Republic and the withdrawal of Serb heavy weapons around Sarajevo, Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Serb Republic People's Assembly confirmed in a statement to SRNA.

According to him, the withdrawal of heavy weapons of the Serb Republic Army will not be to the detriment of the Serb side, because at the same time, in cooperation with NATO and the United Nations, an agreement was signed on a cessation of hostilities in the so-called exclusion zone of Sarajevo, and on placing Muslim artillery under supervision.

"If the Muslims attack the borders of Serb Sarajevo, the Serb Republic Army has the right to activate its heavy weapons that will be positioned nearby [u blizini]," Krajisnik said. He noted that part of the weaponry that is not included in the agreement will remain in the Serb part of the city.

"We also agreed on opening the 'blue routes' and the Kiseljak-Sarajevo road for humanitarian purposes, and approved the use of Sarajevo airport in accordance with earlier agreements," Krajisnik stressed.

Expressing the hope that there would shortly be a normalization of the situation in Sarajevo, Krajisnik concluded that yesterday's agreement is the first concrete result of the likely cessation of NATO air attacks, and a good step in the direction of a just division of the Serb and Muslim parts of the city.

Accompanying Krajisnik in the Serb Republic delegation to the Belgrade talks were the president and vice president of the Serb Republic, Radovan Karadzic and Nikola Koljevic, and Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army.

Krajisnik Protests Over Alleged War Criminals

LD1409224495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2054 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 14 Sep (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly of the Bosnian Serb Republic sent a protest today to General Bernard Janvier, the commander of UN Protection Force for the former Yugoslavia, because of the UN intention to hand over 35 Serbs to the Croatian authorities so that they can be put on trial for alleged war crimes.

The UN announced today that 35 Serbs will be handed over to the Croatian authorities in order to facilitate the departure of 700 Serb civilians from the UN camp in Knin where they took shelter during the Croatian aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina.

"You are no doubt aware of the fact that 700 Serbs fled to the UN camp in Knin during the Croatian aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina," Krajisnik says in his letter to Janvier, and notes that "they are still there and are unable to reach free territory."

Condemning the UN's concurrence with the shameful Croatian blackmail, the president of the Serb Republic assembly warned Janvier that such a move by the UN president was unforgivable.

"I would like to remind you that the United Nations is here to protect all refugees without exception and that it is your duty to do the same with the Serbs in Knin, who sought refuge in the blue helmets camp," Krajisnik concludes in his letter to Janvier, which was forwarded to the press office of the Serb Republic.

Krajisnik: Accord 'Great Basis' for Serb Sarajevo

AU1409202195 Paris AFP in English 1947 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 14 (AFP)—A senior Bosnian Serb official welcomed an agreement believed to have been clinched by U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke for the withdrawal of heavy weapons around Sarajevo, during a television interview Thursday [14 September].

Momcilo Krajisnik, number three in the Bosnian Serb leadership, said during a television interview on Bosnian Serb television that the "agreement is a great basis for preserving Serb Sarajevo."

"Serb Sarajevo" is the name the Bosnian Serbs have given to those disparate parts of the Bosnian capital under their control. Krajisnik said he attended lengthy talks on Wednesday in the Serbian capital, Belgrade, where details of the accord were thrashed out.

Krajisnik said Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic, the rebel Serb military chief, were also present at the meeting billed by U.S. officials as talks between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Holbrooke.

Holbrooke was meeting Bosnia's President Alija Izetbegovic Thursday evening spelling out details of the accord agreed to in Belgrade, government officials in Sarajevo said.

According to western diplomats, the Bosnian Serbs will withdraw their estimated 300 heavy guns from around the city while Bosnian government forces disclose the position of their significantly less numerous heavy weapon armoury.

In return NATO airstrikes against Bosnian Serb military installations will be called off. On Thursday the two-week old campaign was suspended.

Krajisnik said "NATO and the United Nations are guaranteeing establishment of peace in Sarajevo. This agreement is a big guarantee that... prevents our Moslem enemy taking the whole of Sarajevo and prevents our enemies giving that Sarajevo to the Moslems."

Bosnian Serb forces, initially supported, commanded and supplied by Serbia's military, have besieged the city of Sarajevo for over 40 months. Disagreements over how to end the war in the last 18 months have seen Milosevic publicly break ties with the rebel Serbs in Bosnia and take a more direct role in negotiating an end to the war.

Multinationalism Rejected, U.S. Criticized

AU1409124095 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 11 Sep 95

[Commentary by Goran Djogudj]

[FBIS Translated Text] Complex in scope, monstrous in content, the action of the international community designed to subjugate the Serbs has culminated in an action film with the tentative title "Multinational Forces Break the Blockade Around Multinational Sarajevo." However, we should not fail to put "the so-called" before "multinational" and "break the blockade," not because the Serbs are convinced that every foreign product is no good by definition, but because of the content and nature of NATO artillery wearing UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] team colors and the open aggression against Serb Sarajevo in concert with NATO jets.

Multinational, the main disguise of those who intend to create a new world order and paint the whole world one color, is identical to the concept of Alija Izetbegovic, who has the same goal and the same means, only he is trying to realize them on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Izetbegovic uses multinationalism—a term he borrowed from the vocabulary of the new world order—solely to get the exclusive right to reign over others, just as Clinton forced his European allies to do the work in the Balkans, in order to use the international community as a cover for the interests of Washington and his satellites. Just as Izetbegovic managed to convince Western public opinion that he has good intentions toward other nations, while actually putting the Serbs and Croats into the cage of Sarajevo, Clinton pushed the British and the French into the cage of NATO injecting a multinational, multivitamin concoction to reinvigorate their fallen ambitions in the Balkans. Hence, it is no coincidence that interests of multinational forces and multinational Sarajevo meet in Serb Sarajevo, which is one of the main obstacles to the establishment of the new world order. According to that scenario, the nonmultinational, Serb part of Sarajevo should be punished because it is located between Islamic Zenica and the sea, a potential testing range of the same multinational forces that target only the nonmultinational part of Sarajevo. That is probably their reason for targeting the Zica Hospital, which, though it is not a link in a multinational chain, also treats members of other nationalities. That is why they kill the wounded in that hospital and target a church, which is not nor can ever be multinational by definition, for it would not be a church, but a hippie commune, like Christiania in Copenhagen. Just as in multinational Sarajevo, where the Serbs and the Croats are forced to applaud the Muslims, the artillery of the multinational forces, which has behind it the main wealth of Europe, i.e. its poor, marginal people and lowlifes, cannot afford to fall behind the air strikes conducted by steel birds piloted mostly by American pilots. [sentence as heard]

This may be why Chirac, the De Gaulle supporter and nationalist, has invented the mission of monsters behind their heavy guns who draw up and defend the contours of the new world, just like the janissaries used to in the Ottoman Empire. Everyone sees his chance in [words indistinct]: Clinton wants to rule the United States in order to rule the world; Chirac and France do not want to stare at the back of Germany forever; the British do not want to lag behind; the Dutch are here for decoration, to help the three nations in their three-dimensional attack on the Serbs conducted by the threefold enemy, though the principal is still waiting to see whether the fire from the sky and the mountain needs help from ground fire. It turns out that those who kill in the name of democracy and human rights defend the minimum of democracy and the right to human rights and the need to be human. Such uniformity was not seen even during the occupation of the Sudetenland or the attack on Danzig, when pronounced national countries represented multinational forces. It turns out that those who are not and refuse to be a part of multinationalism as personified in the machinery and world view that suits the new Big Brother of this world are subjected to witch hunts and tried according to a medieval English law that boils down to the following: Dip the witch into water: If she drowns, she is innocent; if she lives, burn her at the stake, for she would not live if she were not a witch.

Article on Karadzic, Mladic Sarajevo Stance

AU1509104995 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 95 p 13

[Article by Milos Vasic: "Battle for Sarajevo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In India, they say, they catch monkeys in the following way: They put a nut in a box fixed to a tree; on the box, there is a hole big enough for the monkey to put its outstretched hand in, but not the fist. So the monkey puts its hand in, takes the nut, but cannot get its hand out, because it does not want to lose the nut; and while the monkey is trying to think it out, someone comes and catches it. The nut that Radovan Karadzic has taken into his hand and does not want to let go of is called Sarajevo. On Wednesday [6 September] morning Vladimir Stambuk, as a high official of the Yugoslav United Left [JUL], explained that to him very directly on Radio Politika. Mr. Stambuk said that Bosnian Serbs are on the certain road to ruin for their entire state because of those 20 kilometers of the siege line around Sarajevo. Judging by what happened last week, he is right: Radovan Karadzic is following the example of an Indian monkey instead of a Balkan fox which will bite off its own paw to save itself. He could also have taken the example of his boss in the joint negotiating team: Milosevic preferred to let go of Krajina, and thus shorten the front line....

However, Radovan Karadzic has had a sick fixation about Sarajevo from the very beginning. He has made countless statements that Sarajevo has always been Serbian, that in fact it still is Serbian, and that it will always remain Serbian. However, Sarajevo should have been taken in the spring of 1992, when that could still have been done. At the beginning of this year General Dragomir Milosevic, commander of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps of the Serbian Republic Army discarded the stories in Pale of how "we can walk into Sarajevo whenever we want to, but, you see, we don't want to." Had Bosnian Serbs been able to take Sarajevo in 1992, they would have taken it. Instead, they hoped for any sort of division of the town ("If Berlin could be divided, Sarajevo can also be," Karadzic says)—if possible along the Miljacka River, if not, then at least in such a way as to leave them Vraca, Grbavica, Ilidza, and the rest what they now hold. In that way Sarajevo became a collective hostage, a trump card for the endless bargaining of Pale's policy, pathologically obsessed with the "exchange of territory." Such a bluff by gambler Karadzic (I give you Knin, you give me access to the sea; I give you southern Manhattan, you give me Bihac, and a carton of cigarettes to everybody in addition) has become worn out in the last three years. The Serbian Republic and its army have grown weaker; the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has grown dangerously stronger. Serbia has been ruined with sanctions. Milosevic has realized that Karadzic and General Mladic are losing the war, and made them face reality. The fall of Krajina marked the bankruptcy of the Greater Serbian idea as the political program of Pale; what remained was to save what could still be saved. General Mladic—it seems—as a qualified officer understood Milosevic's message and tried to reason with Karadzic and the Pale team. He did not succeed; Karadzic's stubbornness and gambling mentality won, and he failed. It was the London conference (21 July 1995) that finally meant the end of fooling around. Sarajevo, the symbol of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, became its key: The planes took off.

Second Week

Let us recall, three conditions were presented to General Mladic if he wanted the bombing to stop: Withdrawal of heavy weapons from the 20-km exclusion zone, via Mokro; cessation of attacks on all protected areas; freedom of movement for the personnel of the United Nations and of humanitarian organizations in the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina under Serb control, which includes the opening of Sarajevo airport. In the meantime, French troops opened the "blue route" for the supplying of Sarajevo via Butmir, not asking the Serb side for permission, which has never happened before; truck convoys which used that road were not attacked—which is even more interesting. Attempts to shell Sarajevo were met by a ferocious response of the artillery of the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF]: When in the evening of Tuesday 5 September one battery of the Serbian Republic Army fired around 10 shells on the territory of "Zetra," French 155 mm howitzers immediately responded with four rounds and silenced it (by now, the RRF artillery has fired over 1,300 rounds on the positions of the Serb artillery). In such artillery duels the Serbian Republic Army does not have much chance: Systems for the detection of fire, connected through computers with aim calculators, proved to be efficient. Besides, every round which falls on Sarajevo makes the political position of Pale worse.

The war planes of the allies gave General Mladic the deadline of 2300 on Monday, 4 September, to start withdrawing the heavy weapons. In the meantime Gen. Mladic had already stated that he did not want to do that, and he started posing conditions which were instantly refused, with the message that from now on everyone knew who posed conditions, and who fulfilled them. U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense John White stated that "the Serbs should start withdrawing their arms, and they should start doing it right away." A NATO official said that "we will not run out of ammunition, nor of useful targets very soon"; one officer of the U.S. Air Force (USAF) added that around Sarajevo alone there were 500 targets worth hitting. "Gen. Mladic will have to make a lot of commotion leaving Sarajevo, to convince us fully that he seriously means it," a NATO representative said. In the night of Monday to Tuesday, General Janvier, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander, and Admiral Layton Smith, commander of the NATO Southern Command, were constantly in touch; because of the cloudy skies, that night they could not check the allegations of the Serb side, so the two commanders talked to each other at dawn. Observer flights had shown that there had been some moves of heavy arms, but very little within the exclusion zone. On the same day, on Tuesday, at 1300, planes from aircraft carriers in the Adriatic and NATO bases in Italy took off once again.

At the news conference on Wednesday, 6 September in Naples, Admiral Smith gave his assessment of the operations: From the beginning there had been over 1,800 flights of all types of planes (fighter-bombers, planes for electronic measures and countermeasures, reconnaissance planes, AWACS, tankers, rescue planes, and AC-130 gunships). In the latest attack, fuel and ammunition depots, technical bases for repair, telecommunication and traffic centers, command posts, and bunkers were targetted. The operations were concretely illustrated with five examples: The telecommunications center on Jahorina—attacked by an F-16 with a 450-kg laser-directed bomb (target considered destroyed); the ammunition depot near Hadzici (no details); a command post bunker—F-16, direct hit; an ammunition depot in the Sarajevo zone—"Mirage 2000," laser-directed bomb, direct hit. Antiaircraft fire was rather weak, mostly artillery.

Darkness Zone

The reactions of the Bosnian Serbs changed: Instead of their earlier statements that NATO planes had missed almost everything, now a serious concern could be sensed. They talk about "huge damages," civilian casualties, and—in short—a gradual destruction of the military and telecommunications infrastructure. Radio, television, and microwave relays have been destroyed, including the one on Mt. Majevica (Stolice), which was missed in the first attack. More and more frequent, and more and more nervous statements and letters of Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic show that things have become really serious, and that the Pale leadership is aware of it. In an interview with CNN, Karadzic claimed that they wanted to withdraw the weapons at night, fearing attacks by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, but that NATO attacked them in the morning. The president of the Serbian Republic said that they "withdrew as much as we could," because civilians would not let them withdraw the heavy arms (agencies reported this on Thursday). He called the bombings "horrible, unheard of, barbaric" and he said that the purpose of all that is to take Sarajevo away from the Serbs, but—"we cannot leave Sarajevo." On his side, Gen. Mladic writes letters in which he tries to draw attention to side issues: He asks who fired the shell (he does not mention the other four) on the marketplace—as if that meant anything now (the question who shells Sarajevo has in the meantime become a question of faith and has nothing to do with logic, ballistic findings, or criminology); he complains that NATO uses "radioactive and toxic ammunition" (he is probably thinking of antiarmor projectiles made of weak uranium; that metal is used because of its big specific weight, and its radioactivity is insignificant). On 1 and 2 September, in Mali Zvornik, at the all-night meeting with Gen. Bernard Janvier, which was organized by Milosevic and the Greek Defense Minister Arsenis, as they say in Janvier's staff, Mladic was "furious": "He insulted Janvier and his family," he left the room, slammed the door, shouted, complained about the sad destiny of Serbianhood and, at the end, refused to withdraw his weapons from the Sarajevo zone, because "that would mean the same as surrender." The presence of "one high officer from Yugoslavia, who calmly and reasonably explained to Mladic what the continuation of NATO attacks would mean" did not help. The essence of it all—namely, why he does not want to withdraw the heavy arms from the exclusion zone, despite thepromises from Pale in that regard—were not mentioned by Mladic.

Gen. Mladic does not mention the essence for very good reasons: If he withdraws the heavy arms (all artillery of caliber bigger than 12.7 mm, rocket launchers, and tanks) from the exclusion zone of a 20-km radius from the center of Sarajevo, he loses one of his two main advantages on that front (the other one is geographic, since he is situated on the hills). Gen. Mladic is in a situation known as the darkness zone: If he goes, that is bad; if he stays—it is even worse. Namely, if he withdraws the heavy weapons from the 20-km zone, he will hardly ever be able to get them back on the siege line around Sarajevo, because the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will not allow it and NATO will not help him. If he leaves the heavy arms, NATO will go on beating him, and he will end up in the situation from the joke: A pilot chased an infantryman, and when he had had enough of that, he landed, got him down, and beat the hell out of him. That is how it will go, because in the United States the countdown for the presidential elections has started, and Bosnia is the only international chance for President Clinton.

Serb Council Urges Residents Not To Flee

AU1409201895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbo-Montenegrin aggression on the Srebrenica and Zepa safe havens, among other things, resulted in a mass expulsion of Bosniaks from their homes. The latest development of events in our country and the liberation of extensive territories that were temporarily occupied is, among other things, also bringing mass migrations and an exodus of people from their age-old homes, is written in a statement by the Serbian Civic Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The very essence of Bosnia is being undermined at the roots, and Bosnia-Herzegovina as a multiethnic, multicultural, and multireligious community is being brought into question. In the interest of preserving such a Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serbian Civic Concil of Bosnia-Herzegovina is joining in the appeals of the legal civilian authorities and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army to the residents of the liberated areas and areas whose liberation is imminent not to abandon their homes.

The authorities of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as it is known, guarantee all those who did not bloody their hands in the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina complete personal security and legal and property safety. For that reason, the Serbian Civic Council is appealing to all residents, especially the residents of the Serbian ethnicity, not to abandon their homes or be tricked by the aggressor's propaganda, and not to obey the orders of forceful evacuation, is written in a statement by the Serbian Civic Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serb General: Western Front Being Stabilized

AU1409202795 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Following a heroic fight in defending the road from Sipovo toward Jajce, soldiers of the Serb Republic Army cut down the defense lines and the Croatian Army entered the town on the Pliva River last night. The units of the Serb Republic Army are consolidating their defense lines and are preparing to take the initiative on this part of the front. With regard to these events, in the "Vecernji Dnevnik" program we will broadcast the statement of Lieutenant General Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of staff of the Serb Army.

[Begin Milovanovic recording] I feel obligated to tell you that decisive measures are being taken to stabilize the front in the western parts of the Serb Republic. The Serb Republic Army is able to continue fighting and to take the initiative when we decide so.

In the past few days, we confronted four armies on the western borders: the guards and home guards units of the Croatian Army, the Croat Defense Council, the Muslim forces, and the NATO forces. Not even the fact that there are more of them and that they have more equipment would have helped if they had not had the help of the Rapid Reaction Force: first, there was the bombing of our military and civilian targets, and, second NATO and the Rapid Reaction Force provided them with the intelligence information concerning the deployment of our forces. NATO acquires such information through reconnaissance activities—by satellite and planes.

As you have probably heard, the ustashas are in Sipovo and Jajce, from where people have been evacuated. This turned out to be justified later. I am not accusing anyone; I am merely establishing a fact: We are going to investigate all this and take the necessary measures. However, I would like to point out that when the Krajina people fought in Podrinje, on Mt. Igman, in Sarajevo, all the presidents of municipalities, and the representatives and authorities of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] from these areas were with their brigades throughout the fighting, while the people of Semberija and [Drinjaci] forgot about that this time.

I have been informed that the people in Banja Luka and the surroundings are nervous. It is true that these times and these events are not good for oversensitive people, but I assure you that there is no reason for fear or panic. This may sound clicheish, but we have no other homeland, and no one should leave these areas, or even consider doing so. Leningrad was under siege for 900 days, Stalingrad for 120 days, Paris also for 120 days, and yet they endured, they won, and they had their freedom, so why could we, the people of Krajina, not do so for a few days?

I assure you once more that the front is being stabilized. We are in the position to take the initiative. However, the stability of the front is also in the hands of the poeple of Banja Luka and the surrounding municipalities. Therefore, we are staying here, and we will defend ourselves.

Do not believe any of the stories about something being sold, betrayed, or whatever. I know nothing about it, I would not take part in it, and no one in the state and political leadership has ever told me anything of the kind. If they were hiding something like that from me, who has been with you and the soldiers on the front for four years, it does them no credit.

I, as a professional and experienced soldier, and a person who has much experience in general, assure you that the essence of the present events is to endure. Wars are not won by those who are stronger, but by those who are more enduring and more clever, which we now have to be.

Finally, the roads are crowded with refugees; there are as many as four to five lines of them. I am asking those people to follow the instructions of the military and civilian police, and to start towards the centers as set by the state authorities. I am aware of all their troubles, but they should understand that the roads are obstructed and I cannot maneuver the units from deep inside the territory towards the front lines in order to crush the enemy offensive on the Krajina.

Till victory! [end recording]

Commentary: 'Next 15 Days' Determine Borders

AU1409204795 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 11 Sep 95

[Commentary by Milos Grubic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since Friday, the Republika Srpska [Serb Republic] is on the geographical map of the world and is an entry in the international diplomatic vocabulary. That Friday afternoon [8 September] in Geneva, at the official international gathering, its name was pronounced correctly for the first time and the Serb Republic was officially accepted as a state whose legal recognition as a subject of the international community is pending. The recognition of the Serb Republic in Geneva was characterized, throughout the world and locally, as an historic event, and that it is, there is no doubt about it. It is historic for the world, for it sees the end of a difficult crisis. It is also historic for us as we have basically achieved that which we set out to do less than four years ago—a sovereign, free, and democratic country based on the natural right to self-determination. It took us almost four years of demonstration during the bloodshed in this war and painstaking persistence to be recognized as such by the world, which is not based on justice and fairness. Without such demonstration and persistence, we would not have been recognized in Geneva. That is why, in addition to being historic, the Geneva recognition teaches us a lesson that contains a message for today and tomorrow. The lesson is called the factual situation [fakticko stanje]. The Serb Republic was born the moment it was proclaimed by the National Assembly, which expressed the will of the Serb nation. Persisting on the fulfillment of the will of its nation based on the natural right to self-determination, the world accepted the factual situation the other day in Geneva and officially accepted the Serb Republic. Generally speaking, in terms of international relations, factual situation is the subject that is recognized sooner or later. That is exactly what happened at the Geneva talks last Friday. However, the results of the talks, which saw the victory of a nation, were merely a foundation stone for the Serb Republic. The future steps of the peace process will reveal its final shape. Not without reason, right after the Geneva talks, analysts said that long and painstaking negotiations on the territorial demarcation, i.e. the drawing of maps, are yet to come. The demarcation that offers the 51:49 ratio is the starting point for this stage of the peace process. It should not be interpreted as an accomplished fact. The ratio can vary at the expense or benefit of either side. The factual situation, i.e. military demarcation lines at the time when talks on maps and demarcation begin, will again determine the final outcome. In other words, the percentage for the Serb Republic can be higher or lower than 49 percent. To simplify, we stand a real chance of keeping for good those areas that we manage to defend by military means. That is why it would not only be ill-advised for the future of the Serb Republic, but indeed fatal, to think that the war ended at the Geneva meeting with the proposal of 49 percent of the territory. Just as the factual situation was crucial for the official acceptance of the Serb Republic, it will also be crucial for the forming of its borders. In short, the war is not over. It is now more important than ever to defend the borders of the Serb Republic with the same persistence and determination as before the Geneva talks. The next 15 days will determine the size and the borders of the Serb Republic and that is why we must hold out.

Report Provided on Mass Executions in Srebrenica

95BA0335A Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 3-10 Aug 95 p 7

[Article by Dragan Micic, AIM, Belgrade: "Executions at the Stadium"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Not even the well-guarded border between Serbia and Bosnia could keep back the news of the murder of hundreds, or even thousands, of prisoners of war from Srebrenica. Inhabitants of Bratunac and surrounding villages are crossing bridges on the Drina under the eye of the Bosnian Serbs, carrying the story of the death by violence of a large number of men from the enclave in eastern Bosnia taken recently by forces loyal to the leadership in Pale.

"They killed them in a hurry, in great haste," said a young woman whose brother-in-law is a soldier in Mladic's army. "On Monday (17 July) alone, 1,600 Muslims were executed. The soldiers bragged that they killed about 4,000."

Other sources, however, speak of about 2,000 victims. Still, they agree on two things: the place and manner of the execution. According to statements of several natives who had no connection to one another and who wanted to remain anonymous for understandable reasons, the prisoners were murdered at two sites. One was the playing field at Bratunac, and the other the hangars behind the school in that same town. A majority met their deaths at the playing field, while those taken to the hangars were men whom the military and civilian authorities said were war criminals. According to allegations of the young woman referred to at the beginning of the article, death by cutting the throat was reserved for them, while those at the stadium were shot. The shootings were probably not done by firing squads, but by individuals.

Representatives of the United Nations who were in Bratunac heard bursts of fire coming from the town itself, but they were told that the soldiers were merely celebrating their victory. In the days that followed, shooting again echoed occasionally in the city. The hypothesis that the killing was done without firing squads is supported by the story of people from Bratunac that all the people in that area, both soldiers and civilians, were offered the opportunity to kill the prisoners if any of their relatives had been killed in the war, so that they might take revenge. Some of the people who had lost those dearest to them refused: "It will not bring back my child for someone else's parents to suffer as I have suffered," said a man whose son had been killed back in 1992. There were also those who accepted the offer. Some of them killed 10 or more.

The stadium, actually playing field, in Bratunac is mentioned in some reports of international organizations as a possible center for prisoners of war, but the Bosnian Serb authorities have not up to now been willing to reveal where the prisoners of war are located, nor have they allowed humanitarian organizations access to them. The rare journalists who received a pass to leave Pale after the Serbian conquest of Srebrenica were explicitly told that they could use only the road via Visegrad, a road that is altogether away from any approaches to the area of Srebrenica and Bratunac.

A TV crew from Pale did take pictures of the prisoners in the stadium, but those pictures were confiscated by the military authorities. The pictures did not show violence to those confined. Experts on problems of prisoners of war, however, say that this kind of evidence is done away with if there is a plan to eliminate the prisoners in order to prevent subsequent identification.

"People could be recognized on the pictures. Later, someone would ask about such-and-such a person who was last seen at this particular place, where he was your prisoner of war. Tell us what happened to him," explained an international expert on humanitarian issues.

The only other available picture of the men from Srebrenica who were in the hands of the Bosnian Serb Army was on a special program about the fall of that city broadcast by Studio B. In one short frame, the camera made an upward movement and then zoomed in on a terrace in Srebrenica where 15 or so men were waiting with their hands on the back of their heads under the vigilant eye of two Serbian soldiers.

Aside from the Studio B team, few outside the ranks of the Bosnian Serbs have had occasion to see the men from Srebrenica at all. Mitar Radovanovic, driver for the firm Azbukovica in Ljubovija, who had driven to Potocare, the base of the Dutch battalion of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces], a few kilometers from Srebrenica, carrying juices, milk, and meat pastes, said that during the hour he was there he did not see a single man of military age. "I saw a few old men, but I did not see a single man under age 70," Radovanovic said.

There are indications that the prisoners were killed even before they were moved to Bratunac. Representatives of one international organization have said that they saw trucks carrying corpses leaving the vicinity of Potocare in a convoy with dredges for digging earth. Refugees from Srebrenica who reached Tuzla have said that many people were shot in Potocare itself. The picture shot by Studio B shows several corpses in a drainage ditch, and a mound which might represent several dozen corpses dumped in front of the door of a warehouse or large garage appears for a few seconds in an action shot taken from a vehicle at a distance of 20 meters or so. The shot is referred to by the voice of the reporter, who says that "many Muslim soldiers were killed."

The fate of wounded Muslim soldiers who fell into the hands of Karadzic's paramilitary organization is also uncertain. Some 105 of them were transported to the Health Center in Bratunac. The clique in Pale agreed to allow their evacuation to the Tuzla Hospital through the International Red Cross Committee. When the Red Cross team from Geneva reached Bratunac, however, they were told that 23 of the wounded would not be released. There are indications that they are no longer in Bratunac, and no one can figure out what happened to them, while the rest were transported to Tuzla. In the Health Center in Bratunac, they refused to provide any information whatsoever. "It is very interesting that you call on the telephone and expect to be told something like that," is all the woman who represents the Health Center is willing to tell us.

With the fall of Zepa, there is even less chance that the fate of the missing men from Srebrenica will ever be figured out altogether. Karadzic's Serbs allowed only evacuation of women and children, and they decided to hold the men as prisoners of war whom, they said, they would use for exchange. Because they include an unknown number of those who had just arrived from Srebrenica, there is less and less chance that after this second imprisonment there will be a trace of them, and the chances are greater and greater of their joining the army of the missing.

Swiss Humanitarian Worker Reports on Detainment

95BA0335B Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 3-10 Aug 95 p 14

[Article by Marija Werale-Matic, Licstal: "Letter to Those Who Do Not Read"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I remember a captivity lasting 34 days at Ilidza and in Kula near Sarajevo, when I was detained, 15 days at the outset without fresh air, horrible food, with no tea, medicine, or physician when I was sick, and a maddening headache. I still see Zeljko's bestial eyes, who with great relish wanted to see how much Simon's large body could take. And he was going to hang him, he said.

The first three days in one room, where we saw traces of blood on the wall, traces of someone's suffering. For three days, I did not wash, I had to call out to go to the toilet, and the soldiers escorted me.

After three days spent in a prison of the military police and questioning in Ilidza, the trip by truck around Sarajevo, via Pale, took more than four hours. Behind us, a second truck carrying armed chetniks. We did not know where they were taking us, whether they were going to kill us and cover up all traces of us. There was a change of drivers in Pale. A large man, fat...I pressed close to Simon, who sat next to the door, because I was frightened by that man's very appearance. He suggested that I put my leg in his lap.

Then the arrival at the Lukavica Garrison. That was when I saw the UN soldiers in bulletproof vests in front of the garrison, some of them along the road dug in, protecting the garrison in the direction of the Sarajevo Airport and the hill where the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina is located, and others sunning themselves on or alongside tanks and armored personnel carriers. The UN soldiers who live in the garrison are on friendly terms with the Serbs. It was clear to me then that these UN blue helmets, who had turned us over to the chetniks at the Sierra 4 checkpoint in Kasindolska Street, would never try anything to get us released. They came almost every day to visit the warden of the Kula prison, which is located immediately behind the garrison, where they also visited the imprisoned French "Pharmacists Without Borders." All those gathered there knew that the two of us, who are Swiss, had also come to that prison as humanitarians and peacemakers. But fat Ivanko, UN spokesman in Sarajevo, lied to the media and our relatives, telling them that they did not know where we were.

I asked the women in the prison what these UNPROFOR people were doing here so frequently. They told me they were supplying fuel, chocolate, and cigarettes to the prison administration.

Again questioning, this time by a major in the intelligence service in Grbavica. First, two days of questioning of me alone, and later also of Simon two days with me translating.

And then those gloomy days, I did not dare approach the window, I did not dare to write. There were three old books there which I read. All those heavy boring days, but still they were not terrible when I think of all those women who had to do the heavy work in the prison and were also beaten and raped. I could not have stood that, I would have died. The women who were in the same room with me said that I had come at a good time, because before they had beaten them all, even the women.

My thoughts these days are always with those little girls, adolescent girls, and young women whom the Serbian beasts had taken from Srebrenica. What is happening to those women? Physical abuse or sexual mistreatment? It is well known that they abused women sexually even in public, several at one time and in various poses. That young girls had to wait on tables naked, and then when the Serbian beasts had had enough to eat and drink, they would take the girl away by the hand and torture her.

I am writing this because I am embittered. To whom am I writing? To the United Nations, to NATO, always to those same statesmen who have been in cahoots with the sick Serbian leaders. To the governments which direct powerful organizations which ordered giving up the safe havens and delivering innocent people to the barbarians, innocent women who are constantly in my thoughts. This letter should be addressed to the powerful; however, they do not read letters like this.

Government To Submit Evidence of Atrocities

95BA0335D Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 17-24 Aug 95 p 4

[Article by Daniel Omeragic: "Bestial Acts Before the Eyes of the World"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] By the end of this August, the State Commission for Gathering Facts on War Crimes Committed on the Soil of Bosnia-Herzegovina will forward to the International Court in The Hague a dossier on bestial acts which Karadzic's Serbs committed in Srebrenica.

The material gathered will abound in data on victims and perpetrators of genocide, statements of surviving witnesses, and numerous documents which will serve as the basis for the international tribunal to conduct a further investigation.

So far, more than 100 authentic statements have been taken. They cover 500 typed pages and talk about large-scale crimes of: shooting, butchery, and rape. This material is backed up by information released by the United States on the basis of aerial photographs, evidence that immediately after the fall of the "safe haven" Srebrenica between 2,000 and 2,700 Bosnian civilians were shot. [passage omitted]

The State Commission of Bosnia-Herzegovina has obtained valuable photographs from the field. They show the crimes which the aggressor committed against civilians who were attempting to flee death in Srebrenica through the woods.

"We have sent some of the material to Sarajevo for professional processing. We have taken statements from essential witnesses, people who survived the mass shootings. The chetniks were killing children, raping women and little girls, even medical personnel were not spared," OSLOBODJENJE was told in a telephone conversation by Mirsad Tokaca, secretary of the state commission, who for some 10 days now has been in the Tuzla-Drina Canton.

Obvious Facts

The teams of the state commission, together with personnel of the State Security Service of the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] and the Security Administration of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, have been taking statements from the survivors of Srebrenica, who have found asylum in Zivinice, Lukavac, and Tuzla.

"In early August, we were visited by representatives of the American Government. We gave some of the material to Mr. John Shattuck, assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs. I believe that Mrs. Albright was speaking on the basis of what their investigators gathered in the field and on the basis of what we supplied them," Tokaca said.

"We have information on where the mass graves are, but we think it is still early to make this public. I will tell you only that this time they did not throw the murdered people into the largest grave of the Bosnian Muslim people—the Drina. We do not know the whereabouts of between 8,000 and 11,000 people from Srebrenica, we do not know what fate befell them. All contact has also been lost with 4,000 people from Zepa," says Bego Mujezinovic, secretary of the Tuzla District Commission for Gathering Facts on War Crimes.

"Do you have the names of those known for certain to have committed the crimes?" we asked Tokaca.

"On 12 July in the Hotel Fontana in Srebrenica, the criminals brought in the people from Srebrenica, who were forced to sign a statement that they had been treated properly, in accordance with humanitarian rights. The criminals on that day were Miroslav Deronjic, Ratko Mladic, Ljubisav Simic...," Tokaca said.

Dudakovic Promotion to Division General Viewed

95BA0335E Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 17-24 Aug 95 p 7

[Article by Djuro Kozar: "The General Who Forded the Korana"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When the personality of a commander combines such virtues as abundant military knowledge and ability, skill in the art of war, and a refined feel for leading men, then the results are guaranteed regardless of all the difficulties. All of this has been synthesized in Division General Atif Dudakovic, who has been leading the 5th Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina [BiH] almost infallibly in defensive and offensive combat. By virtue of his authority, he has set the tone for that corps, for which, he has so far shown, there are no hopeless situations. The 5th Corps has coped with the situation successfully even when it was attacked by no less than four enemy formations—those of Karadzic, Matic, Abdic, and Milosevic.

Fight for Survival

Gen. Dudakovic is a relatively young man at age 41, but this war has made him look somewhat older. Born in Bosanska Krajina (in Orahovo, near Bosanska Gradiska), he is a Bosnian Muslim by commitment, an antifascist who entered the fight against the aggressor with an awareness of the historical importance of everything he does on the battlefield for the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In an interview with VJESNIK last year, he said: "The Bosnian Muslims must survive, and no price is too high for that."

In the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], Dudakovic graduated from the Ground Forces Military Academy as an artillery officer. He learned his trade as an officer in the field, alongside the field artillery guns. As a lieutenant colonel in 1991, he left the former army in Zadar, where he was training and drilling cadets in the Artillery School Center. He is proud that some of his pupils are now officers, not only in the corps that he commands, but everywhere in the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

When he came to Bihac, he joined the first from of Bosnian defense: the Territorial Defense [TO]. At that time, the commander of the regional staff of the Bihac TO was Hajrudin Osmanagic, now assistant military attache of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Slovenia. When the 5th Corps of our Army was formed, Brigade Gen. Ramiz Drekovic was named its commander, and Brigadier Atif Dudakovic its assistant commander. When in late 1993 Drekovic took up a new post (commander of the 4th Corps), Dudakovic took over the 5th Corps. This appointment was supposed to provide continuity, and it proved to be an excellent decision. Following the splendid successes of that corps in defending the Bihac District, when it did not have enough weapons or food, when the brigades did the maximum, the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, acting as the Supreme Command, promoted Dudakovic to the rank of brigade general, recognizing in this way his personal contribution to those results in battle.

The Best-Trained Officers

In an interview with OSLOBODJENJE this March, Army Gen. Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said of the 5th Corps that this is a formation organized in keeping with all the military principles of an up-to-date army. It is fortunate to have a large number of officers who were in this area. To be sure, most were in the air force, but it is a fact that of all the corps in our Army, the 5th has the largest number of officers who have graduated from military academies. From the beginning, this created conditions for them to build a very good organization. Led, that is, by professionals, the brigades of this corps devoted quite a bit of time in 1992 and 1993 to training the men.

When Gen. Dudakovic talks about the corps he commands, he emphasizes the consistent execution of orders. He says: "We are physically separated from the main body of our Army's forces, and we know that we cannot rely on anyone except ourselves. We live for the day when we will break the blockade...." That long-awaited day has come: On 5 August of this year, in combined action with the Croatian Army [HV] and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], the 5th Corps fought and broke through the blockade, liberating a large number of towns in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Croatia.

When Gen. Dudakovic and Major Gen. Marijan Marekovic, a member of the General Staff of the HV, met on the bridge over the Korana River, this was a sign that the Split Declaration, signed by Alija Izetbegovic and Dr. Franjo Tudjman, is being implemented, that the common enemy is falling to his knees, faster in some places, slower in others.

A Corps With Knowledgeable Leadership

"But we had to reach the Korana," Gen. Dudakovic told Croatian Radio. "Before commencement of the action by the military and police forces of the Republic of Croatia, we were exposed to terrible fire. Gen. Mile Mrksic, Krajina commander, wanted to destroy Bihac the same way he destroyed Vukovar four years ago. This is where he took his final examination, but he did not pass. Now, he does not even know where he is, just as the officers whom Belgrade sent to help him do not know where they are. My fighters achieved an exploit. When we took the offensive the other day, no one could stop them...."

The commander of the 5th Corps could write a book about all the problems and difficulties he faced while the Bihac District was surrounded. On several occasions, hunger was a specter hovering over the people and the fighters, and there was no help from anywhere. It was extremely difficult for him when Dr. Bekir Tatlic, clinic head and director of the Bihac Hospital, told him that the sick children were dying because they had nothing to eat. He took what little food he had for the men and sent it to the sick. The brave Krajina fighters waged war, but they ate only once a day. They found additional strength and determination at a point when the enemy thought that they could not take any more.

The exceptional promotion of Atif Dudakovic to the rank of division general was recognition not only of him personally, but of all those in the 5th Corps, those unnamed heroes who follow their commander. Dudakovic is the only officer of that rank in the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in the hierarchy he is now second only to Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff. The Army made a logical move here. The gratitude of the people, the tears of joy of a grandmother, or the embrace of an old man in Krajina, who know how to recognize a true general produced by Bosanska Krajina, are the greatest homage to Atif Dudakovic.

UK Ambassador, Hadzic View Ex-SFRY Crisis

AU1409194295 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 14 Sep 95

[Report by Djordje Gajdosevic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] After visiting Borovo and Erdut today, UK Ambassador [to Croatia] Gavin Hewitt said that he obtained a lot of information that will help the London government work more efficiently on a peaceful solution to the crisis in the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia].

[Hewitt in English with sentence-by-sentence translation into Serbo-Croatian] We regret that in Knin and in Sectors North and South, the Serb population left en masse. We were critical of the military action taken by the Croatian Government. We believe that negotiations should always be given an opportunity. That in particular was one of the issues that we were discussing today: to use the opportunity we now have for negotiations and talks to secure peace.

[Goran Hadzic, coordinator for eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem] Ambassador Hewitt represents the British Government and he has expressed his orientation toward peace. I am glad about that and have taken the opportunity, since Great Britain is one of the protagonists [nosilac] of the NATO policy, to ask him to use his authority to influence the government in London to stop raiding the Serbs in the Serb Republic, as well as to ask him to advocate the protection of human rights of the Serbs who remained in Knin and on the territory occupied by Croatia. He promised to do that. We talked about a possible solution for Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem.

[Gajdosevic] Mr. Hewitt was informed about the Serb side's wish for the present status under the UN protectorate to be extended to several years. He said that he will inform the government in London about that and that he hopes a solution will be found that will satisfy both sides.

Croat, Serb Heavy Weapons Pullout Viewed

LD1409152095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1511 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarvas, Sept 14 (TANJUG)—Commander of Sector 'East' General Fredi Van de Veg announced Thursday that before long an end would be put to the withdrawal of heavy weapons from a separation zone between a Croatian force and a force of Krajina Serbs from the Slavonia-Baranja region.

The Belgian general mediated in talks between the local commanders of Serb and Croatian forces, General Dusan Loncar and General Djura Decak, held at the Sarvas-Nemetin crossing outside Osijek.

Generals Loncar and Decak agreed to take all steps for the number of truce violations to be cut to a minimum, said the Belgian general and added that the pullout of heavy weaponry was in progress and should end soon.

Van de Veg said the separation zone boundaries would be drawn at talks next week when the two sides' proposals would also be finalized.

General Loncar stressed that the basic purpose of such meetings was to furnish conditions for the two sides' political dialogues and the meetings thus far had 'turned out good results.'

Croatian General Loncar voiced confidence that conditions would be generated for both armies to return to the positions determined under the Zagreb ceasefire agreement of March 29 last year.

Up to last May, when Croatia carried out an aggression against western Slavonia, Sector 'West,' the two sides had abided by the provisions in the Zagreb agreement on a ceasefire and on the withdrawal of heavy weapons to ten or twenty kilometres from the separation line.

After Croatia's occupation of the Knin Krajina (Sectors 'South' and 'North') in early August, threats have been arriving from Zagreb that something like this would happen also to Sector 'East.'

UN Knin Accord To Resolve Refugee Problem

AU1409122895 Paris AFP in English 1153 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 14 (AFP)—Thirty-five Serbs will be handed over to Croatian authorities as part of an agreement to allow some 700 others to leave a UN camp near Knin, the former Croatian Serb stronghold, a UN official said Thursday [14 September].

"We expect to see major progress in resolving the question of refugees and other detained persons in Knin today (Thursday)," said Yasushi Akashi, UN special envoy for the ex-Yugoslavia.

Knin fell in early August in a lightning Croatian offensive to retake territory seized by Bosnian Serbs in 1990. The offensive, and accompanying pillaging and murders, sparked a massive outflow of refugees.

About 700 people, mainly elderly men and women and a few children, were left behind and took refuge in a UN camp near Knin.

"We hope that all the refugees with the exception of 35 will be able to leave our compound for any destination they want in accordance with their wishes," said Akashi.

Most of the Serb refugees have expressed the desire to go to Serbia but Croatian authorities have refused, saying they wanted to try 62 men accused by Zagreb of war crimes.

Croatian authorities issued arrest warrants Tuesday for 35 of them.

"The 35 will be detained by the Croatian authorities but in accordance with procedures ... with full disclosure as to charges made against them, ... and with the right of attorneys visiting these people while they are under detention," said Akashi.

The United Nations had been hoping for a quick resolution to the problem since a battalion of peacekeepers from Canada had been scheduled to leave the area in late September as part of an overall reduction of the UN presence in the area.

But it also feared for the future of the Serbs accused of war crimes and had been demanding that they be allowed a legal defense and other guarantees.

Commander for Zagreb Operational Zone Appointed

LD1409171495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] By the order of Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia and supreme commander of the armed forces, Major General Marjan Marekovic has been appointed commander of the Zagreb operational zone, replacing Major General Ivan Basarac who is taking up a new post, the political department of the Croatian Defense Ministry has reported.

Five Split Councillors Change Party Allegiance

LD1409175495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Councillors of the Split city council from the Croatian Social Liberal Party [HSLS] and the Croatian People's Party [HNS] walked out of the council's session today unhappy about the fact that the balance has changed to the advantage of the Croatian Democratic Party [HDZ]. The change in balance is the result of a recent decision by five councillors to switch party loyalty and join the HDZ.

The session, nevertheless, was held. By a majority vote the council refused to accept the resignation of Split mayor Nikola Grabic and the chairman of the city council, Mirko Karoglan. Deputy mayors Alojz Tusek and Ivan Vanja Lopusinsky were released from their positions.

Ex-Yugoslav President Mesic Evicted From Apartment

LD1409124495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1027 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—Stipe Mesic, chairman of the opposition party Croatian Independent Democrats, has been forcefully, under police coercion, evicted from his flat in the very center of Zagreb.

Mesic told journalists that this confirmed that a law-governed state in Croatia did not function. "If they 'dislodged' me contrary to the Constitution, even though I am protected by parliamentary immunity, then ordinary citizens are completely bereft of any protection," Mesic said.

The eviction of Mesic from his flat is only one in a series of "instances of dislodgement," which are being carried out in Croatia every day. Many citizens, particularly of Serb nationality, have been evicted from Army-owned flats, without being given any legal opportunity to defend themselves, although numerous international human rights organizations are on their side.

However, this also happened at the time when Stipe Mesic was in the top circles of the Croatian Government and the closest associate of Croatian President Tudjman.

The Mesic case has been given huge media attention. His "dislodgement" from the flat turned into a meeting at which leaders of opposition parties lent him full support, saying this is yet another example of the regime's showdown with those who do not think the same.

As many as 11 policemen were present at the eviction of Mesic from his flat. Some of them told journalists that they had taken part in many instances of "dislodgement" and that they witnessed resistance, tears, and injustice being done to people. This particular case was easier to deal with, they said, because it was only journalists who were asking provocative questions.

Mesic had got the flat, from which he was evicted, while he was Croatian parliament speaker, before he was replaced due to leaving the ruling Croatian Democratic Union.

Gligorov on Results of Accord With Greece

Diplomatic Ties to U.S.

AU1409202495 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 1330 GMT 14 Sep 95

[Speech by FYROM President Kiro Gligorov on 14 September; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, we established full diplomatic relations with the United States. This act finally rounds up the cooperation between the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia-FYROM] and the United States. It has great significance not only for our country, but also for greater stability in the southern Balkans, the traditional relations between our two countries, the support that the United States is giving to the independence of the Republic of Macedonia, our access to the United Nations, and the participation of the U.S. forces in Macedonia.

This act represents another strong confirmation of all this support. The perspective for the mutual cooperation was initiated when the United States recognized Macedonia, and with this establishment of full diplomatic relations at the embassy level, the cooperation is placed on truly strong foundations.

The establishment of diplomatic relations preceded the signing of an agreement between Macedonia and Greece in New York today. The U.S. initiative and the direct U.S. activities for the signing of this agreement are also a confirmation of the joint U.S.-Macedonian interest in peace and stability in the southern Balkans and in the strengthening of Macedonia's international position. Precisely for that reason, I would like to state on this occasion that the Republic of Macedonia has achieved a huge success with its peace-loving policy, following the principle of political dialogue in the controversial issues with the neighbors and of the realization of human and minority rights in accordance with international standards and the principle of the Europeanization of the Balkans and of the protection of personal interests and goals. In this context, we affirm our long-term orientation for the development of good-neighborly relations with all neighbors, on the principles of the nonviolability of the borders by means of force, the free flow of ideas and goods, and the development of comprehensive cooperation in all fields. In spite of the fact that, over the past years, we have often been the victims of historic prejudice from some in Balkan politics, we have proved our ability to survive, both as a country and as a nation with an authentic national and cultural identity and with deep historic roots and achievements in European civilization. Because of this, our independence could not be jeopardized by the economic blockade, attempts to ignore our state, or the attempt to revive anachronistic activities in the Balkans dating from the beginning of this century. I can say with great satisfaction that, eventually, that fact was also recognized and accepted by our neighbors. This is a new historic fact. Here, I particularly welcome the realistic attitude that neighboring Greece has shown with the signing of the agreement. And, I would like to repeat that Macedonian-Greek relations have a future in the interest of the two nations, of peace, of good-neighborly relations, and of the cooperation of all Balkan nations. It is now especially important to show good will, willingness, and fair play in the implementation of the signed agreement, which is in the interest of both sides. I am deeply convinced that time will show that this act will become a turning point in the future of the Balkans.

Confirmation of Principles

LD1409174495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—Kiro Gligorov, president of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], today assessed the Greek-Macedonian agreement on the normalization of relations, which was signed in New York last night, as a historic document of exceptional importance for the whole of the Balkans.

He said the document opened up "the prospects of peace and good-neighborly relations."

According to him, the agreement confirms the FYROM's long-term orientation for developing relations with all neighbors along the principles of the inviolability of borders, the free circulation of people, ideas, and goods, and the development of comprehensive cooperation.

"Like many times before, I repeat that Macedonian-Greek relations have a future and that they are in the interest of both nations, of peace, of good-neighborly relations, and of cooperation between all Balkan people," said Gligorov.

The FYROM president today sent telegrams of greetings to Greek President Konstandinos Stefanopoulos and to Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou expressing his conviction that the agreement will turn a new page in relations between the two countries on the basis of the principle of good-neighborliness, which is an expression of the two nations' permanent interests. [passage omitted]

Gligorov: Serbs Pose 'Constant Threat'

BR1509122295 Paris LE FIGARO in French 15 Sep 95 p 5

[Interview with FYROM President Kiro Gligorov by Robert Lacontre; place and date not given: "Kiro Gligorov: 'The Serbs Pose a Constant Threat'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Lacontre] How do you explain Greece's wish to monopolize the name of Alexander the Great?

[Gligorov] Alexander the Great, Alexander the Macedonian, is a figure of history and European civilization. So he belongs to us as well. When the Slavs arrived in this area, it was already populated. The ancient Macedonians were a separate people. This was not Greece. They even made war on the Greeks. However, all this happened 2,500 years ago. It can no longer constitute a problem in the relations between our two countries.

History weighs heavily on the Balkans. So do myths and symbols. The Serbs started their war because of Kosovo, because of the myth of Kosovo, the cradle of Serb civilization, which is 90 percent Albanian today. Greece is a member state of the EU. It is European-oriented. We, too, are aspiring to join the EU. We are not going to take a step backward and fight about the past.

We have no territorial claims. We share common interests with the Greeks and common customs. For the most part we share the same religion. The conflict is irrational.

[Lacontre] Irrational maybe, but surely the embargo that the Greek Government decreed against you was very real?

[Gligorov] It is incomprehensible. Although we had not provoked them and had proposed discussing with them, the Greeks refused to negotiate. Turning a deaf ear to the opinions of the other 11 EU member states, they decreed an embargo. Even the United States did not dare to impose an embargo on Cuba, Haiti, or Iraq without the approval of the United Nations. So, in this way, the Greeks violated the Treaty of Maastricht.

[Lacontre] Is there a danger in Kosovo of the Albanian population rising up against the Serb authorities?

[Gligorov] Of course, a fresh conflict involving the Albanians in Kosovo would have dramatic repercussions here in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. Where there is a large number of minorities—as is the case in Macedonia—it must be shown that it is possible to live together, by eliminating the notions of Greater Serbia, Greater Albania, or Greater Bulgaria. The Balkans are home to a vast mixture of peoples. We must live together by advocating tolerance and dialogue. We Macedonians have never had any conflicts with the Albanians or with any other minorities. The alternative would be to have ethnic states, and that is the path of war.

[Lacontre] Do you fear the threat of Serb expansionism?

[Gligorov] The Serbs clearly have the intention of dominating the entire region. They want to recreate the Greater Serbia. They pose a constant threat to Macedonia and Kosovo. Kosovo is in an explosive situation. We are appalled by what is happening in Bosnia. It is a human tragedy of vast proportions. And all this because the international community is incapable of finding an answer to this madness.

Opposition Parties Condemn Accord With Greece

AU1409202295 Skopje MIC in English 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The announced National convention of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity], the MAAK [Movement for All-Macedonian Action]-Conservative Party, the Labour Party, the World Macedonian Congress and other non-governmental organizations in protest against the Macedonian-Greek agreement was held last night on the plateau in front of the Universal Hall in Skopje. In the presence of around 100 people, the leaders of these parties expressed their discontent with, as they put it, "the signing of the disgraceful document against the Macedonian national dignity, on which the opposition was not even consulted."

"Now, the flag will be changed, articles from the Constitution and the name FYROM [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] will be frozen for seven years," Ljupco Georgievski, leader of the VMRO-DPMNE said. "I assure you the Greeks will start with blockades against Macedonia again, and our delegation doesn't even know what it's signing. What's happening is a shameful defeat of the Macedonian foreign policy," Georgievski stressed. A "Declaration of the Convention for Macedonia" was disclosed at the gathering, which strongly condemns the signing of the act and dismisses the formulation FYROM.

Furthermore, a peace protest in front of Parliament building was announced for the day of the ratification of the agreement, as well as dissatisfaction, as it was said, because the gathering was prevented from being held in the Universal Hall.

Daily: Moscow Proposing New Version of CEMA

WS1509115095 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 15 Sep 95 pp 1, 7

[Article by Andrzej Lomanowski from Moscow: "Another CEMA"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Russia is proposing economic integration to the countries of the former bloc. Embassies of all of the countries that were members of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance [CEMA] received an astounding document from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ].*

The draft envisions cooperation of the activities of state organs or companies [as published]. This principle would be applied by members of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], with the exception of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, as well as by Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Hungary.

The document is referred to as "The Basic Directions of Mutual Partnership and Cooperation in the Area of Commercial-Economic Relations." It is difficult to determine at what level and by whom this document was prepared. Because it was submitted to the embassies via the Russian MSZ, it is an official document.

The document does not say a single word about any organization or structure. However, it describes the functioning of an integrated organism comprising all areas of the economy.

The draft also envisions the establishment of coordinating organs—interstate and interbranch councils, set up by the member states of the CIS or former Soviet republics.

In line with the document, policy guidelines would be specified by an international conference that would be convened regularly; it would also resolve problems.

The last, 28th article of the document, specifies that participation in the new bloc would not make it difficult for any of the countries to maintain economic contacts with other states or economic groupings.

However, maintenance of traditional links is at the very top of the list of the new bloc's primary purposes.

The document does not assume a restoration of the transferable ruble [rubel transferowy]; payments in convertible currencies are permissible. However, the document envisions that CIS members will utilize settlement mechanisms.

The undertakings that the document proposes are dominated by traditional CEMA priorities. The first sentence of the draft mentions cooperation in capital spending. The first chapter—on the goals and principles of economic cooperation—begins with joint efforts to resolve the most important problems, which are the following: development of industry, especially the fuel-and-power-industry complex, as well as development of the agro-industrial complex and transport.

The document also lists other branches that were typical of CEMA: the raw-materials, machine-building, and electrical industries, and construction. As far as the last branch is concerned, the draft envisions participation, based on collective principles, in the reconstruction and modernization of existing structures and the construction of new ones.

There is also a provision on the development of scientific-technological and production cooperation in the military-technological field. It mentions joint projects and programs, including conversion of the defense and aerospace industries. In the areas in which CEMA and the Warsaw Pact integrated with each other, cooperation is to be regulated by international agreements. [as published]

Interviews With Lech Walesa

On Presidency, Campaign

WS1509115395 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 16 Sep 95 p 6

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa, by Janina Paradowska and Jerzy Baczynski; place and date not given: "A Just Dimension"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [POLITYKA] The official phase of the election campaign has already begun. The battle for this office will inevitably be accompanied by evaluations of your presidency. How do you assess it yourself?

[Walesa] No matter what I say, hardly anyone will believe me. Nonetheless, the truth is quite simple. All along I looked upon this presidency as sort of a reconnaissance: a reconnaissance of forces and resources, of people and platforms. At the same time, I believed that it was my duty to see to it that we do not lose the main direction of the reforms, that the reforms are implemented as peacefully as possible. I did realize, however, that life would provide solutions different from those we envisioned and that it would be a time requiring frequent improvisations.

[POLITYKA] What are the results of the reconnaissance? What do you know now that you did not know then?

[Walesa] People, for one thing. We can make a long list of all those who have dropped out, who are accusing me of engaging in deviousness; however, they were the first to set up new political parties. Today we know who is the fighting man and who is the working man. We finally see a very important thing—the degree of social commitment, the weakness of this commitment. Generally speaking, weakness of the social condition, lack of persistence in combat. Only now is it possible to put all of this in order, in terms of both people and platforms.

[POLITYKA] What do you consider to be your greatest achievements over this period of nearly five years?

[Walesa] I am convinced that my presidency can be deemed vital and successful for at least one reason: for leading to the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the territory of Poland—even if I had not done anything else. It was I who initiated this process and who implemented it till the very end. Let me also add my contribution to the reduction of Poland's debts; I also helped our country obtain new loans. Negotiators did the negotiating, but it was primarily I who did the political work. Today a lot is being said about a contract with Korea concerning a car-manufacturing project. However, no one even mentioned that it was I who discussed this issue with people who think highly of my achievements; I did this when I was on an official visit to Korea. Now, these achievements are very numerous. However, it never occurred to me to think in the following terms: Write it down because others will forget it. Let us keep walking, then. [as published]

Where internal affairs were concerned, I did not allow anyone to set Poland on fire when crackpots with their file-checking ideas could have led to a dangerous destabilization of the state. Yet it is true that I was not able to sell to others what I did. We did not explain this to people, we did not brag. However, if even you are asking me about it, then it will probably be necessary to recall a thing or two.

[POLITYKA] What about your mistakes, your failures, then?

[Walesa] Even though many people do not like this, I would be immodest and say that if I were to go through that period again, then—at the same time, under the same circumstances, and with the powers I had—I would do exactly the same thing. Of course, now that I know things I did not know at that time, I would act differently in a few cases. I could have stayed with the Freedom Union [UW], but I would have had to assume right at the beginning that I would have to subordinate myself; I could have stayed with the Kaczynski brothers. However, this was against my principles, and, therefore, I sacrificed even my staunchest colleagues to the goals that had to be realized.

[POLITYKA] If you were to give yourself a grade—from A to F—what would it be?

[Walesa] A strong B. Not an A because various personnel problems should have been resolved otherwise—not to antagonize people but to implement my program.

[POLITYKA] What was the purpose of the most recent changes in your Chancellery, then?

[Walesa] The purpose was to change the concept of my presidency. The former concept was rather simple—I was supposed to be a president above parties, a decorative rather than a working president. When the Solidarity ["S"] governments were in power, I hardly ever interfered with the problems of the executive authorities. I did not want to destroy anything, I did not want to pop in from outside with various ideas. In the present configuration, when I am no longer emotionally linked to the people in power, I can do this, but my initiatives are turned down because the coalition has a sufficient majority, and I do not have nearly any powers at all to implement anything. Now I am getting ready for a different presidency, one that will involve agreement as well as the pooling of forces and resources. This is why I am looking for people who are able to unite, who can be accepted by various circles.

[POLITYKA] You are so sure that you will win the elections that you are preparing the Chancellery for the next term?

[Walesa] I am sure. However, what I am doing right now applies only to the period until the elections.

[POLITYKA] Thus, Lech Walesa in his second term of office would be the opposite of the first-term Lech Walesa?

[Walesa] Exactly. I want to add, however, that if in the first term I did some provoking and stimulating, it was not because I wanted to raise a commotion and keep my office. I was very serious about what we talked about back in the 1980's; we said that we would have to create pluralism and democracy, which meant that we would have to split. Actually split, not pretend to split. It cannot be that I wink at Kuron and say: Now you will move to the left and I will move slightly to the right. The division must be real. I may not always have done this very skillfully, but—now I will be immodest once again—I noticed many things earlier than others.

[POLITYKA] Mr. President, you have already tried to unite a movement. For example, you established the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR], but nothing much came out of that.

[Walesa] I did not establish things, I encouraged people. As years go by, things become more difficult; however, many emotions will burn out during the election campaign; some people will lose, others will fail in their aspirations. The field will be cleaned, in a way, and I believe that such unification will be possible.

[POLITYKA] What you are talking about requires certain team player abilities. Can you play on a team, can you subordinate yourself to the rules that are binding there?

[Walesa] All through the 1980's I kept proving that I was the best negotiator. The first period after 1989 was a time of splitting, building a pluralist system. Every party had its aspirations. Then it turned out that this new configuration was very unbalanced. How can you make an ant and an elephant pull the same cart today? My vetoes are overruled—even if the opposition [parliamentary opposition that supports Walesa] makes the effort and acts in unison; this is because there is also [Union of Labor Chairman] Bugaj, and no one knows what game he is playing. The only thing that is known is that he is playing against me. Thus, there is no possibility of mediation, and I am being isolated. Balance can be reached only through unification. I am convinced that I can do this.

[POLITYKA] What experience did the presidency have for you personally?

[Walesa] I never thought of it in these terms, in terms of my personal experience. The assumptions I made were very practical. I believed that, if we got rid of the Soviet Union, the totalitarian system, and the security service, then a new political and economic life would start developing by itself. It would be enough to create appropriate conditions and refrain from interfering too much. I believed that democracy would start to develop right at the bottom—among councillors in gminas [smallest administrative units]. I did not create any theories that would go with my very practical, even technical, way of perceiving the reality. Others are reaching for models created by revolutions or making theoretical analyses of various stages, whereas I see these problems quite differently.

[POLITYKA] Mr. President, you are talking about uniting. However, after five years of the presidency, you are alone. The reasons you gave for firing various people do not seem sufficient. Is it only they who are to blame? Perhaps it is your fault as well?

[Walesa] I get the impression that we still do not understand each other. I have already said that I looked further than others, I saw certain solutions earlier. In the late 1980's, I had an awful lot of people around me, including the Citizens Committee. It was enough to be polite, to listen to a few persons, to pretend not to understand something because they were wiser—and today my situation would be entirely different. However, how would this relate to pluralism, to the creation of conditions for expressing various opinions? It would be an artificial configuration. I do not identify myself with the left of the UW; I am more to the right; my world view is different. Therefore, I gradually moved away; while doing that, I saw to it that a minimum balance was maintained. I provided some assistance to those who were in a worse position. This was my philosophy.

[POLITYKA] A philosophy that has been a failure, then. Today there is no balance. The part of the political scene that is closer to you is in a state of total disintegration.

[Walesa] I must concede that I did not fully realize that once certain processes are set in motion, they start to follow their own path. I grasped this only when I was watching what was happening in the former Soviet Union. The first to come apart was the Warsaw Pact, followed by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the Soviet Union, and this process is continuing. I also set in motion certain processes that were not controllable afterward. However, I do not think that all of the results of the processes are bad. Please recall the fuss over depriving GAZETA WYBORCZA of the "S" emblem. [Chief Editor] Adam Michnik is offended at me even today, whereas he should actually be grateful to me. What would GAZETA WYBORCZA look like today with this emblem? What "S" would this emblem belong to? Who would wrench it away from them and how? Did I not actually help them?

[POLITYKA] Do you think it is better that ["S" Chairman] Marian Krzaklewski has this emblem?

[Walesa] I was the first one to say that we should understand this simple truth: "S" was a fighting method, a terrific method; however, it is necessary to go to work with different banners. Otherwise, we will blemish our own past, we will try to wrench it away from one another.

[POLITYKA] Let us, however, go back to uniting. Indeed, you did warn against the election result. However, what is your diagnosis? Why is the right side of the political scene, which is closer to you, in a state of such disintegration? Why is it not calling upon you to become its leader?

[Walesa] So far, I have not been a player in this game; I was a a midwife at best. I suggested that we should go to the polls together; however, the proposal was rejected. Then we all had to respect the rules of the game, which had been set democratically. One cannot go out into the streets and change the results of the elections. I am waiting for those who are taking part in the shuffling of the cards to draw conclusions. For the time being, nothing bad has happened in Poland. The economic processes that have been started are continuing; they could be implemented faster, and, therefore, I am trying to speed them up. Now it is the turn of the right to make a move. Let them unite and then we will continue this game. I have found myself in a very difficult situation. There are not many moves I can make; within parties [personal], aspirations continue to play a significant role. I thought that those activists who lost in the elections would go. They did not go.

[POLITYKA] However, why are they unable to reach an agreement and support you?

[Walesa] Because the parties are still being run by the people who made big mistakes. What is the chance of reaching an understanding with Jan Olszewski [leader of the Movement for the Republic]? He still believes that he performed a heroic act of file-checking and decommunization. Now, I will say this to him: It was you who destroyed the idea of decommunization and file-checking because your concept was the silliest idea possible. You can ask him this question: What was the next day supposed to look like after disclosing the files? Did he realize what would have happened later on, after attacking the president, the parliament, and even his own government? It was possible to carry out decommunization, but this required some thinking; for example, the entire issue could have been divided into three subjects. The first one would be the party apparatus and political decision makers—what do we do in their case: Can they fulfill any functions or not? At what level can they do it? This is decommunization. The second thing—the apparatus of repression, the Security Service. Here verification was carried out earlier. Finally, the last issue—agents, often victims of the system, people blackmailed for a variety of reasons. This subject is the most difficult, and it requires great delicacy. The most important thing should be to establish a procedure, find a key with which to resolve the problem, and not announce a list containing a few dozen names. You are talking about uniting? Whom should I join?

[POLITYKA] You said recently that the Christian-National Union [ZChN] is very close to you. You made many things for them and then you were counterattacked.

[Walesa] No, I was not counterattacked. In this party there are a few people who know that they will not work with me, but who have certain aspirations. I will not even admit them to the palace. Incidentally, the same goes for a couple of other parties as well. Therefore, they are looking for people who will obey them. Moreover, if I had come very close to ZChN, I would have lost the BBWR, which has more seats in the parliament and more structures in regions than the ZChN. Thus, I spoke only about my sympathies; what I meant was that as far as some elements of its platform is concerned, this organization is quite close to me. This is the truth. Moreover, it is also true that, during the years of fighting, I antagonized a lot of people, and thus many people oppose me. These people began looking for someone else.

[POLITYKA] Can you confirm the opinion expressed by Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, who said that sociological tiredness of you had set in?

[Walesa] Yes, there is such a phenomenon. However, I want to draw your attention to the fact that many people believe that Poland is already safe, that nothing is going to happen, that there will be no great conflicts or tension. If the future looked as peaceful as that, then there are indeed several candidates better than I am. However, things will not go that peacefully, and I dare say that the people who have submitted their candidacies so far will not cope with the problems.

[POLITYKA] You have mentioned your countercandidates. Could you try to assess them?

[Walesa] I cannot do that. Each one of them has his virtues; however, they can come in handy in different situations. Now one needs a lawyer, then one needs a banker, whereas Poland currently needs an experienced politician. I believe that I have broader political experience than my rivals because I acted in various situations.

[POLITYKA] However, what exactly is the advantage that you have over Jacek Kuron? You cannot say that he lacks political experience.

[Walesa] He did not work right at the bottom, in an industrial plant. He does not have such a feeling for social moods as I do, and this is going to be very important over then next few years.

[POLITYKA] Aleksander Kwasniewski also has considerable political experience.

[Walesa] That is right, but he also carries this burden of the past. I know that he is young, that he cannot bear the entire responsibility for the past; however, please note that it was of his own free will that he considered himself to be an heir to the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. Others did not do that, they went different roads, they cut themselves off from the past.

[POLITYKA] What about Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, who may successfully unite the right wing?

[Walesa] The coming years are going to be difficult, perhaps even tougher than the past few years. One must really have a lot of political imagination to cope with those challenges. I sometimes find myself wondering how one can run in elections without knowing about the dangers lurking ahead. The more I know, the more scared I become. This is why I will wage this fight.

[POLITYKA] You call upon Aleksander Kwasniewski to account for his activities in the past. You say that his "sorry" is not enough. What should Kwasniewski actually do to make you feel that the past has been accounted for?

[Walesa] We all want to live in a normal country; I am no exception. I am accused of having supported the left leg. I did not support it; all I did was keep saying that there are communists, postcommunists, and that they must find themselves a niche in the new reality. They must be given a chance. However, there are certain facts in our history that cannot be ignored—all the more so because, as I have already said, Kwasniewski accepted this heritage of his own free will. No one forced him to do that. There was 22 July 1944; there was Stalinism; there was combating of all opposition, a bloody fight. Of course, there are things that people can be called to account for in a court of law. However, is a presidential campaign not a good occasion to say openly that the Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation was a fraud? He should publicly take a stand on those most difficult events in our past. If this happens, the subject will no longer be important.

[POLITYKA] It seems that Kwasniewski does not really have to say that he is sorry for the Polish People's Republic [PRL] because many people long for the PRL. This is proved by public opinion polls or the result the Democratic Left Alliance achieved in the [parliamentary] elections.

[Walesa] Actually, opinion polls preceding the elections in 1989 were also very interesting. People were worried that the PZPR might win a stunning victory over "S." There are things in our history that people should be accountable for because otherwise those things will keep casting a shadow on our public life.

[POLITYKA] In the first public debate of presidential candidates, we ask them what they consider to be the number-one Polish problem. We would like to ask you the same question.

[Walesa] It is how to gain people's confidence in reforms and how to link these reforms to a noticeable improvement in their living standards. In other words, what to do to keep people from stopping the reforms out in the streets. There is also another issue—how to stop thinking in party terms. There is still far too much attachment to party interests; parties still like to take all the booties. If a party wins, it takes it all. Certain offices must be above the party level. All of this must be made more public, experts should have a greater say. We should think less in terms of party interests and more in terms of the interests of the state.

[POLITYKA] Jacek Kuron is calling upon the candidates to say what commitments they are prepared to make to the people. What commitments would you make?

[Walesa] One cannot make any commitments if there is not an efficient system. I agreed to prepare election platforms in the previous campaign, and I regret it even now. I believe that in the future we should have a parliamentary-cabinet system; however, I am all in favor of a presidential system in the transition period. This system is more efficient; it makes it possible to avoid many delays or unnecessary disputes. I dare say that the president must have the right to exert influence on the composition of the government as well as on its decisions. There is also another problem that must be thought over: the right to issue decrees. This, of course, would be under the parliament's control. I believe that an efficient presidential system might restore faith in the idea of democracy among the people. Only in the presidential system is it possible to make commitments and to take responsibility for them.

[POLITYKA] We also want to ask the candidates about the priorities of their presidencies. What are they in your case?

[Walesa] First, a constitution where the target model would be the parliamentary-cabinet system; however, it would also have to envision establishment of a presidential system for the transition period. Second, enfranchisement and privatization. Sooner or later we will find ourselves in the EU, and then we will be a loser in the competition; in addition, there will be a real danger that our industrial plants will be taken over by others. I believe that we must first of all give a chance to the citizens. The next issue: self-governments. To make a long story short, more powers and money to gminas. Finally, safety of the citizens. And, in foreign policy—maintaining the direction in which we are going—EU, NATO, improving our relations with neighboring countries, particularly with Russia, as well as regional cooperation, which is a necessity when borders no longer divide countries.

[POLITYKA] When, realistically, do you think we can join NATO structures?

[Walesa] You are not helping me there—both journalists and politicians. You say all too often that we want to join NATO because we are afraid of Russia; as a result, opinions are voiced that there is a threat of a great conflict hanging over us and that this is why we want to take shelter under the wings of NATO. I believe that it should be a different process: We want to join NATO because our situation is becoming increasingly normal; our country is free from national problems and conflicts. Thus, we are yet another stable country that should join NATO quite naturally.

[POLITYKA] It is you who are accused of slowing down integration with NATO by encouraging generals to engage in politics or even by undermining civilian control over the Armed Forces.

[Walesa] I never undermined it. As far as this issue is concerned, I may have acted awkwardly on a few occasions and this was used against me. However, my intention was good and it was to resolve a really long, drawn-out problem. Thus, if someone says that I would like to use the Armed Forces in my game, then it is completely false and all it means is that they would like to use them in their game.

[POLITYKA] Is there any question you would like to ask your rivals?

[Walesa] For God's sake, do you really not realize the responsibility? Do you really not see the dangers waiting for Poland?

[POLITYKA] Your position as a candidate is not very high. How do you plan to win the election?

[Walesa] I cannot be sure that I will win the elections, but I believe that if my work is evaluated fairly, then I have nothing to fear. I protected Poland from many difficult moments; I did so much for the country that there is nothing I should be ashamed of. Thus, all I am asking is for a just judgment and a fair sentence.

[POLITYKA] Which means another five years? Thank you for the interview.

On Election Campaign

LD1509101795 Warsaw PAP in Polish
0810 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 15 Sep (PAP)—If I win in the first round [presidential election], parliament will have no chance and should dissolve itself as soon as possible. This was said by President Lech Walesa, who was Radio Zet's guest this morning.

According to Walesa, such an election would mean that the nation, under the Constitution, the highest authority in Poland, would come out in favor of the presidential system, which he proposes, and that the nation should be able to elect new deputies "in keeping with his concept." The president added that he "suspects" that the nation would behave "neutrally enough and would elect me but would refuse to give me any possibility to implement my concept."

Walesa said that there are no chances for the election of a single candidate from the right wing for the presidential election, which, among others, Solidarity wants. "In this case, agreement is impossible, unlikely," the president said, and went on to explain that "the people who fight never give in," and Solidarity is naive enough to believe that this is possible. The president said that along with Solidarity he would be striving to carry out a referendum on universal enfranchisement during the election.

In the president's opinion, Aleksander Kwasniewski [Left Democratic Union; SLD] did not have the remotest chance for election to the top office in Poland because his electorate, of the "disappearing-dying out type," could only reach up to 20-25 percent and does not show any signs of increase. The SLD leader will have a chance of winning only if there is a low turnout in the elections, but such a win, according to Walesa, would be a "tragedy for him and for Poland" because it would spark off a period of "brutal settlement of accounts with the commies [as received]."

Once again Walesa admitted that he had never given his support to "the left leg." "I have said that nobody, including the existing left-wing in Poland, can be pushed underground, and that conditions in the system have to be created so that everyone is able to work for our country and preserve his character and identity," he explained.

During the election campaign, Walesa intends to "show the people" how he works, but also his mistakes. To such mistakes he includes, among other things, the oath he took on the communist constitution. "That is why I then had to move on the verges of the law, stretch the Constitution to include a new reality," and his "failure to notice" that in the cabinet-parliamentary system the president "had practically no executive powers."

Radio Zet journalists asked Walesa a question he himself had recently asked his competitors: Are you not afraid of God? "I am very much afraid, but I fear only God and nobody else—no powers, no gangsters, no politicians. God has helped me in my responsibilities so far, and the storms were violent," Walesa replied.

Rules Issued for Presidential Election Advertising

LD1409173295 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1500 GMT 14 Sep 95

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish]

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council [KRRiTV] has decided that the media will be able to broadcast paid electoral advertisements without limitation. Broadcasters may, however, refuse to carry such advertisements.

The KRRiTV did not limit the number of paid electoral advertisements because it acknowledged that there is no legal basis upon which to do this. Private broadcasters may broadcast some advertisements and reject others, if only because they are contrary to their program line. The KRRiTV wishes private broadcasters to specify what line they will adopt in selecting advertisements. This will allow misunderstandings with electoral committees to be avoided. If public broadcasters decide to transmit advertisements, they must accept them from all electoral staffs and candidates, the members of the KRRiTV have decided.

Oleksy Urges Clean Presidential Campaign

LD1409203995 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 14 Sep 95

[Radio and television address by Polish Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ladies and gentlemen: The presidential election campaign has begun. For Poles it might be an example of a good debate over matters of mutual concern, or else of disagreement, anger, and obduracy. Not infrequently, this will also involve a distribution of everything to everyone—to pensioners, teachers, officials, the health service, the military, the police, farmers, the unemployed. Already today, certain candidates are ready to give more to everyone. On the other hand, they do not say from whom to take away or from where to get the money. It is as if they have forgotten that the Treasury is not a bottomless pit.

A bad example ensued in September with regard to the expectations of pensioners. Certain statements by state officials created the impression that it would be possible but that it was not desired to improve the lot of pensioners and annuity holders. The papers immediately began to stimulate hopes. This case is a bad example of the public playing off of financial difficulties. The government faced a difficult choice. It had to be directed by realities. Honesty dictated that the government should first implement what it had earlier promised, ensuring resources for increases of remuneration in the budget-financed sector. And that is how we proceeded.

I regret that many people awaiting an improvement felt disappointed. The December revision, a high one, is already close at hand. It will be carried out thoroughly.

In the preelection period, evaluations of the work of the Council of Ministers will also be carried out. If they turn out to be sloppy and dishonest, I will not remain silent. The government has the right to respond. It is untrue, as one of the candidates claims, that Poland is threatened with a return to the Polish People's Republic. Poland does not face a choice between the Third Republic and a Polish People's Republic Mark II. It faces a choice between the laborious construction of a future in common or else of the exacerbation of old wounds, standing against each other, and the destruction of our own opportunities. Frightening people with People's Poland is an illusory thing.

The date 4 June 1989 was when Poles carried out a choice, breaking with all bad experiences and passing over to the construction of a state of democracy, of full civic freedoms, and of a market economy.

It is untrue that, as another candidate claims, we are conducting a disorganized policy with respect to Poland's entry into European structures. All government contacts with abroad serve the unambiguous presentation of Polish aspirations. We are creating a free trade zone in Central Europe. Poland is an active partner, especially with regard to its neighbors.

It is also untrue that, as still others say, we are slowing down the development of local democracy, that we are working too slowly to combat unemployment and inflation, or that are are selling off the Polish national wealth at nominal prices to foreign capital. It is untrue that we are doing everything wrong and that all that is required is to let others gain power, and that day by day they will make society happy. It is probably better for concrete, real solutions to be presented rather than promises. These are often unfounded accusations, contrary to what the government is actually doing, to what it is resolving in direct, difficult, and arduous talks with representatives of social, professional, and political groupings.

In my view, the government's task during the presidential campaign is to show concern that the choice of head of state should take place in conditions of calm, of respect for the law and for democratic rules of struggle. The government, not taking part in the electoral campaign, does not deny its own views. It knows what social and political support it can rely upon. It will, however, adhere to the rules of neutrality in relation to all of the candidates.

I also appeal to institutions and people of high moral authority to support such a social debate as will not be detrimental to Poland's political culture and good name. I count on the fact that public behavior not in accord with good manners and honest democratic struggle will meet with the appropriate reactions and evaluation.

I heard with great respect the declarations of Speaker Jozef Zych on the work of the Sejm and his determination to promote normality and social calm in the period of the campaign. They are in accordance with my own views. I will be in close touch with the speaker.

The government and cabinet headed by me is doing everything not to be the target or the object of a political battle. On the other hand, it will consistently carry out its functions arising from the Constitution, from the Sejm's support, from my expose, and from the program adopted by the governing coalition of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. I count upon the fact that this will of the government will find if not acknowledgement then at least understanding among all of the candidates for presidential office.

I speak of this because, in the fire of electoral struggle, unjust evaluations are appearing ever more frequently, accusations without foundation, and even lies. And so frequently, too, do I hear voices of brave teachers who teach others even about that which they themselves know nothing. That is the opinion of Professor Kotarbinski. In Poland, there is no shortage of specialists in keeping an eye on their own rights and others' responsibilities. Such teachers should not be obeyed or believed. On the other hand, criticism dictated by a will to improve the situation should be listened to. The government will not disregard good answers and ideas. It will reflect on apt criticism and take the appropriate action; but the government will also correct false information and unfair complaints. The people of Poland have a right to the truth.

I am thinking of our joint achievements, which have been particularly tangible in the past few years: of the constant increase in the national income; of the increase in foreign trade turnover; of inflation, which is constantly falling, though still not to a sufficient degree. These are processes that we must consolidate, that will be increasingly felt in the daily lives of citizens as well. I am thinking of the effectively curtailed unemployment, which was checked for the first time in 1994, and this at a time when those born in the years of the demographic bulge are entering production age.

It is a particularly pleasing fact that an increase in employment is occurring in the private sector of the economy, and that that sector already produces about two-thirds of the national income. In Poland, we have checked the socially bad drop in the earnings and incomes of the population. Even in the budget-controlled sector and among old-age pensioners, we note a slight, it is true, but real increase in wages and pensions. We are not satisfied with the rate of improvement in living conditions, but we are doing everything allowed by the budget, which is created after all from our taxes, to lessen the scale of justified dissatisfaction.

Out of concern for the least well-off people, the government has drawn up and submitted to the Sejm several proposals for new tax schedules, with lower tax rates for the lowest earners. It will not be a good thing if candidates pretend that they do not see what is being done for the people's benefit, and what is improving in Poland, alongside the many matters that have not been dealt with.

The Poles' behavior in the coming months will be watched carefully by the outside world. We are a nation that is fully implementing democratic transformations in the system of government. Why lose this good opinion or lessen it? The European order of the 21st century is being formed. Poland expects acceptance into the EU, into NATO. Much effort and preparation is needed to be an equal partner and gain the possible benefits from this. Nobody gains if now, in the campaign, we are perceived as a quarrelsome nation and politicians as irresponsible. The values of democracy and the norms of European civilization must not be debatable; they must be obvious.

As the prime minister of the Republic, I will see to the cohesion of the government and to the effectiveness of its decisions. I will strengthen the coalition's cooperation. The government is working and will work normally. It will implement its policy after the election of the new president as well. I appeal to the presidential candidates to preserve moderation in the election struggle, not to sow hate and dig trenches between citizens—trenches that will be difficult to fill later. It is so easy to deceive and divide people, and how difficult afterwards to awaken trust.

The campaign will pass. These elections should be a normal event in a democratic state. The new president and all of us will live through the coming years not only alongside each other, but also together we will resolve the same problems, argue about the future of the homeland.

Because this is so, what is the point today of formulating false alternatives, evoking illusory hopes, stirring up impatience? Our challenge today is different: to consolidate democracy, to combat destabilization and abuses; to guarantee citizens' everyday safety, the expansion of local government, the creation of good law and its observance by everybody.

Ladies and gentlemen, the government knows what has to be done to improve things. We are doing it, although not everyone feels the improvement. I want to believe that the ongoing preelection struggle will take its course in an atmosphere of seriousness worthy of the presidential office and of the responsibility the country needs; that it will be free of entangling the government in squabbles, which is damaging to everybody, and of games that are dangerous for our state's interests and state imperative. I think that this kind of approach by the government is not surprising. I remind you: the government is not standing for election, the government is working.

I will say more: I sense the silent approval of many of you, and perhaps even of the considerable majority of those who wanted to devote time and attention to me. In the immediate future, I will be addressing you more often than hitherto, presenting reliable information about the government's decisions and actions, because, regardless of all differences, we must be united by one thing—the interest of the citizens and of Poland. Thank you for your attention.

Walesa's Confessor Dismissed From Chancellery

LD1409142395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1400 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Lech Walesa's confessor of many years standing and, since 1991, the presidential chaplain, Father Franciszek Cybula, has left the Belweder Palace. The presidential spokesman, Marek Karpinski, said the dismissal of Father Cybula is associated with the general putting in order of the functioning of the Presidential Chancellery.

Walesa's 'Gross Blunder' on German Minority

MM1509083395 Opole NOWA TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 7 Sep 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Malgorzata Wawryszewicz: "The Interview That Was Not: President Claims German Minority Could Threaten Poland"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a television interview that was stopped from going on the air, President Lech Walesa referred to the German minority as a potential danger threatening Poland.

Sejm Deputy Henryk Kroll, chairman of the Social and Cultural Association of Germans in Opole Silesia, deplores the fact that, through his careless remarks, the head of state has caused the festering of the atmosphere around the German minority.

The interview with the president, conducted for the Warsaw Television Center by journalist Monika Olejnik, did not go on the air as scheduled. The broadcast was stopped by the President's Chancellery, purportedly, according to the president's press spokesman, Marek Karpinski, because the text had not been authorized. Minister Andrzej Zakrzewski explained that some of the president's remarks required further elucidation. It was assumed that he was referring to a passage that concerned ethnic minorities.

However, late on the night of 5 September, Polish Radio's Third Program broadcast sections of the withdrawn interview, followed by a commentary.

Henryk Kroll did not listen to the radio broadcast and only heard about the president's remarks yesterday morning. The first person to relate them to him was Sejm Deputy Speaker Cimoszewicz. Later, in a conversation with Ms. Olejnik, Deputy Kroll learned about the interview in more detail. Asked about potential threats to Poland, the president replied, among other things, that ethnic minorities could pose such threats. When pressed to be more precise, he mentioned the German minority, which "could conceivably gain in strength and come to constitute a threat." NOWA TRYBUNA OPOLSKA was unable to contact the interviewer directly yesterday.

"The president's words were merely an expression of conjecture; nonetheless, it is dangerous in itself that such ideas enter his head at all," Henryk Kroll says. "It is a very good thing that the president thinks about the minorities at all, but it is a bad thing that he is not thinking of protecting them. Occasionally, an ethnic minority can also come under threat from an aggressive Polish majority, as in the incident with the handful of Ukrainians in Przemysl. As far as I am concerned, I find it most upsetting that the president can officially praise us and set us up as an example to others, while in other situations he can let slip such ill-considered words. The minorities are naturally very sensitive, so the head of state of all people should be more careful about what he says because he could easily and unnecessarily cause the situation to fester."

Less than two years ago, in an interview for DIE WELT, Lech Walesa also made an unfortunate remark concerning the German minority. Following wide reporting of that incident by Polish media, the president acted quickly by inviting parliamentary representatives of ethnic minorities to the Belweder Palace, where he apologized for his words and insisted that the faux-pas was the result of a mistake made by the interpreters....

It is likely that the stopping of the screening of the interview caused more sensation about the president's unfortunate remark than would have ensued had the program been shown by a regional television station—even in Warsaw. It also made the President's Chancellery vulnerable to unwarranted accusations of censorship leanings. The head of state must weigh his words carefully before he utters them because all subsequent endeavors by his entourage to hush things up only expose the state's highest office to ridicule. Be that as it may, it remains an indisputable fact that Lech Walesa has yet again made a gross blunder with respect to ethnic minorities, a blunder that attests to his adherence to prejudices, which admittedly still persist in certain circles but which do not behoove the president's office—especially because the minorities have always shown full respect for and loyalty to that office.

Oleksy Previews Visit to Lithuania

LD1409200195 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1315 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Polish Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy is arriving in Lithuania tomorrow on a two-day official visit. The guest will meet with President Algirdas Brazauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Seimas Ceslovas Jursenas, and Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius.

Mr. Jozef Oleksy will visit the Kalvarija-Budiski border-crossing point. The government delegations will hold talks following which both prime ministers are to sign an intergovernmental agreement on cooperation on border control.

Much attention will be given to drawing Lithuania nearer to the Central European Free Trade Association [CEFTA] countries. Both prime ministers are planning to discuss issues of cooperation in the sphere of defense and adjusting the space control project to the standards of the European Union.

On the eve of the visit, Polish Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy gave an exclusive interview to Lithuanian radio and was interviewed in Warsaw by our correspondent there, Vytautas Radzevicius.

[Begin recording] [Radzevicius] Observing Polish-Lithuanian official contacts, in the long run one gets the impression that these contacts are based on much fanfare, polite gestures, and a great number of wonderful phrases; however, there is a lack of pragmatism and concrete actions.

Could one expect that this visit to Lithuania will not merely be yet another courtesy visit?

[Oleksy in Polish with superimposed Lithuanian translation] I must say that, in a sense, this visit will be a courtesy visit symbolizing our mutual relations. You should not take such a critical view of our official relations. However, contacts at the highest level, between heads of governments and the governments, are very important and shape the character of these relations and demonstrate goodwill toward each other. I would not agree with you that allegedly our relations do not go any further than that.

I would like to recall that several bilateral agreements are to be signed. After all, we have a Polish-Lithuanian treaty, which, in spite of much tribulation and efforts, has been signed and ratified. It draws the guidelines for our pragmatic contacts. There are many contacts in the sphere of the economy, and we have plans and intentions to expand state border cooperation. Concerning the latter we, are to sign specific agreements. [passage omitted]

[Radzevicius] Lithuania has signed a free trade agreement with the European Union. However, it appears that it is far more complicated to sign a similar treaty with Poland. True, two rounds of negotiations at a consultative level were held. Unfortunately, nothing much has happened since then. One gets an impression that Poland has no interest in signing such a treaty.

[Radzevicius] Poland is as interested in this as Lithuania. In this case, the interest is defined by the expediency of the treaty, and this issue will also be raised during the visit. An agreement on (?actions) should not be confused with the free trade agreement with the European Union, of which Lithuania is an associate member. Signing a trade agreement with Poland is of a different nature. This will be a real step taken by Lithuania toward the countries of CEFTA. I cannot see competitiveness between the two agreements. Lithuania is aspiring to membership of the European Union and so is Poland. It is evident that the aspirations of both countries coincide completely. Identical aspirations create the possibility to exchange experience, to support each other and, in this way, to deepen mutual cooperation.

[Radzevicius] However, when could the signing of the Lithuanian-Polish free trade agreement be expected?

[Oleksy] I do not know. It will be determined during the negotiations. I will try to see that there is no unnecessary procrastination.

[Radzevicius] Prime minister, you will take part in the opening ceremony of the Kalvarija-Budiski border-crossing point. As is known, this border-crossing point will be an important constituent part in the future international motorway Via Baltica. How then could you explain Poland's passive attitude on the construction of the above motorway and a priority attitude on another international motorway, specifically, the motorway Berlin-Warszaw-Minsk-Moscow?

[Oleksy] No, there are no such priorities. One must not forget that Poland has a wide program of road-system-infrastructure development and road building on a gigantic scale. Therefore, discussions about which roads should be given priority are held constantly. However, essentially everything is decided by investment. [passage omitted]

This is the first reason. The other reason lies in the fact that Via Baltica is an international motorway, and coordination of construction work while building it is not directly the affair of any one specific country. Therefore, I reject the claim that we are less interested in Via Baltica than in any other motorway. [passage omitted]

[Radzevicius] How would you describe the political situation that has developed in neighboring Belarus? Could this not become a dangerous precedent to similar development of political processes in Russia?

[Oleksy] I do not know whether the example of Belarus is influencing Russia or vice versa; one could hold a discussion on this. However, each country itself chooses the model of domestic life, and, in this respect, it is absolutely autonomous. Poland has chosen democratic norms accepted by most democratic countries. We would like to see our neighboring countries cherishing such democratic norms. When the norms of democracy are violated, there is no way we can be happy about it. We adhere to our point of view on democratic values. I think that relations between Russia and Belarus will still continue to develop, and we must watch them closely and draw relevant conclusions—and, of course, make all possible efforts to help them to reinforce democratic norms there.

[Radzevicius] Recently you expressed a hope that, in the future, the Kaliningrad region could become the Baltic Hong Kong. Do you think that closer cooperation between Poland and Lithuania in coordinating their policies and defining common principles of strategy and tactics would be expedient in order to assist this Russian territory to transform itself more rapidly into a demilitarized free trade zone?

[Oleksy] We have discussed this issue at every available opportunity, but I must admit that all our talks do not amount to anything much because this is Russia's territory and only Russia will decide whether the offered advice and the concepts are acceptable, and whether everything should be decided in their own way. Poland and I would like very much to see Kaliningrad not as a threatening center of military concentration but as an attractive integration center of the entire region.

However, as I said, advice and persuasion is one thing; Russia's sovereign will is another.

[Radzevicius] Of late, armed robbers launched attacks on many occasions against passengers of tourist and passenger coaches. All of these coaches were from abroad, including Lithuania. Not a single robber has been caught. Prime minister, what measures are the Polish Government taking to guarantee the safety of passengers on the roads in your country?

[Oleksy] Inasmuch as there are a whole range of measures, it would be difficult to name them all. These measures are not directed only at ensuring the security of foreign travelers. [passage omitted]

One must admit that organized crime is the most dangerous phenomenon, and it is there that the roots of all evil are buried. [passage omitted

[Radzevicius] Prime minister, does the Polish Government have any specific reproaches or remarks to Lithuania with regard to the position of the Polish national minority in Lithuania?

[Oleksy] No, we belive that this problem is being normalized. A conflict had developed between the Lithuanian Poles and some Lithuanian Government institutions, but this has been resolved.

We are concerned that Lithuanian citizens of Polish nationality should not be harmed while returning the property that had belonged to them. This issue has been the topic of our numerous discussions and talks. Now we believe that the norms that are in force in Europe are being reinforced in Lithuania as well. However, we would like the Polish community in Lithuania to have as many possibilities in the sphere of education and culture as possible. The Union of Lithuanian Poles is working, and there is no shortage of various initiatives. And we hope that the implementation of recognized norms will help to avoid mutual mistrust and manifestations of tension. [end recording]

Sejm Rejects Commission's Report on Concordat

LD1509110695 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Sejm has rejected the report by the extraordinary commission, which said that the Concordat was in keeping with the current Constitution. There were 177 deputies who voted for the report; 220 were against and seven abstained.

The commission found that the Concordat was in keeping with the Constitution, but some of its provisions were at variance with particular articles of several laws. They are: the Code of Family and Guardianship, the Code of Civil Procedure, the Marital Status Law, and the Law on Guarantees of Liberty of Conscience and Faith. The commission proposed the introduction of amendments to these laws.

Before the vote, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy, answering questions about the government attitude toward the ratification of the Concordat, said that his government was waiting for the decision by the parliament.

[Begin Oleksy recording] The government of Waldemar Pawlak sent the Concordat with Hanna Suchocka's government signature on it and requested its ratification. It fulfilled its legal duty. The government that is under my direction is neither changing this motion nor withdrawing it. The government is waiting for the decision of the parliament. [end recording]

The rejection of the report has no legal consequences: The resolution remains in force, in keeping with which the Concordat can be passed after the adoption of the new Constitution.

Final Stage of Armaments Reduction Implemented

LD1409170095 Warsaw TVP TV First Program Polish 1500 GMT 14 Sep 95

[From the "Tele-Express" program, relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia]

[FBIS Translated Text] In Pieklo, near Dabrowa Gornicza [southern Poland], the last armaments out of the number specified in the CSCE Treaty have been destroyed. This was the third and final stage of the reduction of Polish armaments, the conditions of which were set five years ago in Paris. Among others things, 1,120 tanks, 301 armored vehicles, and 61 war planes have been destroyed. After Germany, we are the second state that has corresponded to the decisions of the treaty on time.

Police Official on Organized Crime

WS1409125895 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 9-10 Sep 95 p 11

[Interview with Subinspector Andrzej Szymanowski, head of the Office for Combating Organized Crime at the main Police Headquarters in Warsaw, by Bogdan Koblanski; date not given: "Deliberate Ruthlessness"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *It took me more than half a year to finally be able to conduct an interview with the head of the Office for Combating Organized Crime. I knew that, just like in all other places in the world, such an organization does not want publicity. Perhaps this is why I was even glad when a tall, grayish-haired man said to me: "You know that you have come here on an exceptional basis, do you not?"* [passage omitted]

[Koblanski] However, you do have some organizational structure, do you not?

[Szymanowski] Yes, we do. It is uniform and well organized. Formally, as special departments of the main Police Headquarters, we act at voivodship police offices. We operate in the 15 biggest Polish agglomerations, in border areas, and in special-threat zones. However, in practice, we operate all over Poland—for example, on routes through which drugs, arms, stolen automobiles, or, as we put it, highly taxed goods are smuggled. [passage omitted]

[Koblanski] You have been operating since 1 January 1994. Does this mean that there was no organized crime before that?

[Szymanowski] I would say that the police simply were not as organized as they are today. We did not have a special, separate structure and international contacts; in addition, cooperation with other governmental agencies was not so close.

[Koblanski] No one helped the police at that time, then?

[Szymanowski] What do you mean by helping the police?

[Koblanski] For example, closer cooperation with antiterrorist units, the Border Troops, the Main Customs Office, the General Inspectorate for Tariffs, Interpol, the Office of State Protection, prosecutors' offices.

[Szymanowski] It is a good thing that you mentioned the last institution.

[Koblanski] Why?

[Szymanowski] Our activities may be roughly divided into two stages: the operational stage and the investigative stage.

The former, which is the most time-consuming and cumbersome, involves, among other things, identification, sources of evidence, bugging, etc. Perhaps I should also add access to information possessed by banks, but this is a different story.

Investigative activities involve the processing of information that has been collected to real evidence that can be used. In the case of the latter, time plays a vital role. This is why the justice minister decided that a special Department of Coordinating Organized Crime Investigation should be set up in the prosecuting department of the ministry; it was actually established in 1994. In consequence, in most voivodship prosecutor's offices, teams were set up that are cooperating with us very well.

[Koblanski] What about the establishments I have listed?

[Szymanowski] There is cooperation, of course, which depends on the need.

[Koblanski] You mentioned banks.

[Szymanowski] We have some problems in this area.

[Koblanski] Bank presidents do not allow you to look into bank accounts owned by suspects? All over the world your colleagues are allowed to do this. They even do it in Switzerland, which is famous for keeping accounts secret.

[Szymanowski] You are asking me about a very delicate issue. In many cases it would certainly be particularly helpful to us if we were allowed to check the bank account of the person against whom we have taken investigative action. I would like to emphasize that we are not interested in looking through entrepreneurs' banking accounts as a method we might call "either we will find something or not." We are not at all interested in watching how honest entrepreneurs are accumulating their capital. All we would like to obtain is access to banking accounts owned by people who have become criminals and we know it. If we could obtain information specifying, for example, when concrete sums of money are to be transferred to a given bank account, we would be able to confirm our earlier information on a crime, and it would be easier for us to bring specific charges against suspects. Unfortunately, current regulations do not allow us to operate in this manner. I must admit, however, that, in line with the government's directives, we are counting on better cooperation with the Finance Ministry, tax offices, and banking supervision people. As a result, it would be possible to send early warnings of money-laundering operations, operations that involve money obtained from organized crime.

[Koblanski] Thus, you obtain information differently, do you not?

[Szymanowski] We manage to cope with problems, even though our activities are always within the limits of the law. [passage omitted]

[Koblanski] What can you say about Polish organized crime? About two weeks ago, the Ministry of Internal Affairs reported that the number of Poles who commit offenses is approximately 300,000 annually and that nearly 1 million people make a living in this way.

[Szymanowski] We are interested in approximately 200 organized groups, 180 of which have international connections. In those groups, Russian- and German-speaking criminals are the most numerous. Let me also draw your attention to the fact that the reason the number of criminal groups is increasing is not that new groups are being set up; in fact, it is the result of our operational activities. [passage omitted]

[Koblanski] What offenses do you deal with most often?

[Szymanowski] We most often deal with so-called score-settling crimes, forcing certain activities, vengeance, sentences, executions, acts of arson, bomb-planting, etc. These crimes are most often referred to as criminal terrorism. I will also add smuggling, arms and drugs trading, forgeries, money laundering, large-scale offenses related to tariffs, foreign exchange, and taxes, illegal gambling, corruption, fraud against governmental programs, etc. All of this is happening in the backdrop of the gray economy, which facilitates such activities. [passage omitted]

Protesting Hungarian Youth Leave for Strasbourg

AU1509054895 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 9 Sep p 1

[Article by Virgil Lazar: "Cluj—the Protest Caravan of the Hungarian Youth Left Yesterday for Strasbourg"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The "Caravan of Youth for Education in the Mother Tongue," organized by the Council of Hungarian Youth in Romania, left for Strasbourg last night, 8 September. The Caravan is taking to Strasbourg the draft education law initiated by the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], which contains 492,380 signatures, as well as a memorandum of protest against the current education law, which is considered discriminatory for the Hungarian minority. The carriers of the respective document intend to deliver it to the Council of Europe on 20 September.

Branch of Party of the Poor Set Up in Cluj

AU1509083795 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Sep 95 p 1

[Article by Virgil Lazar and Calin Taut: "A Branch of the 'Party of the Poor' Has Been Set Up in Cluj: It Is Not a Shame To Be Poor; The Shame Rests With the Governments That Keep People in Poverty...."]

[FBIS Translated Text] In Romania's so colorful political landscape after December 1998, the Party of the Poor has emerged. In Bucharest, this party was initiated by a gentleman called Marian Dumitrescu, while the Cluj branch has been organized by Ioan Hatnagy, president of the Association of Employers and Handicraftsmen. So far, about 300 people have joined the Cluj branch of the party. The emblem of the new party is represented by an old 1-leu coin and the party motto is the following: "It is not a shame to be poor, the shame rests with the governments that keep people in poverty..." This is a party that, according to statements made by the president of the Cluj branch, hates lies and demagogic promises made to those who have seen their hopes shattered. This is a party that does not intend to reach the government, only Romania's Parliament, in order to "gain sufficient political force."

Certainly, there are many poor people in Romania today, but it is not very likely that they will follow a party that does not have a concrete program for bailing people out of this situation as soon as possible. A party that proclaims poverty as a virtue cannot please and attract, for example, the young generation, which is hoping for a regime that can ease their access to profitable businesses, so as to raise them at least to the middle strata of Romanian society.

PSM President on PDSR Relations, Ceausescu

AU1409060395 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Sep 95 p 3

[Interview with PSM President Ilie Verdet by Rodica Vasilcan; place and date not given; "In No Way Have I Engaged in Bad-Mouthing Ceausescu..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Vasilcan] Do you believe that a rapprochement between the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] and the Democratic Party [PD] is still possible?

[Verdet] There are a lot of people, many analysts, who say that eventually, when the parties no longer disagree on this conceptual aspect, they will have no other choice but to arrive at an agreement. I believe that this social-democratic concept is obsolete, not as an ideal, but nevertheless it is outdated.

[Vasilcan] Is it more outdated than socialism?

[Verdet] Of course, socialism is not outdated at all. This social-democracy, with the concepts it promotes, which is pulling things backward toward an obsolete society, is outdated. Steps should be taken to improve society's present needs.

[Vasilcan] To rebuild what used to be before?

[Verdet] Everything that used to be before should be improved, but certain things should be completely eliminated.

[Vasilcan] Which ones?

[Verdet] The state. The concept of one party and a monolithic control of the state can no longer prevail. Currently and for an undefined period of time, pluralism should be recognized, with everything this concept involves....

[Vasilcan] Are you pleased with the PDSR?

[Verdet] We are not pleased. On the contrary, we are very much displeased because, after approximately four years, a time during which we have loyally supported the government on major issues, we defended it from motions, however from a political viewpoint and the viewpoint of our program, we have never been able to introduce essential and visible things. The reason for that? The left-wing has not been united. Every time when we wished to withdraw our support, it found support on the right side.

[Vasilcan] Do you explain the incapability of obtain what you wish from the PDSR and the support you continuously grant it, through the alleged assistance that the government party receives from the opposition?

[Verdet] I am not talking about this, but we have no other choice except either to join the right-wing opposition or to continue supporting the PDSR. We can in no way support the right-wing opposition because our concept differs in every aspect from the policy promoted by the right wing, which, united, wants to bring back the monarchy and has other restoration ideas, such as restoring the ownership that prevailed between the two world wars and this is in contradiction with our concept. In addition to it, they wish to have a trial of communism, something that we consider an aberration. However, we did not agree with the left wing, either. And then, we chose the less evil of the two.

[Vasilcan] Is the PDSR a necessary evil?

[Verdet] It is an evil that we were able to accept, or rather it is a solution that does not suit us, however, it suits us more than the policy promoted by the right wing, which simply we cannot accept in any form.

[Vasilcan] Is a formula of independence risky?

[Verdet] This is not the issue. The issue in politics is what one can do and not only what one can proclaim. We believe that through our participation in this Protocol [of four parties that participate in government], we have achieved also certain positive things, or rather we have slowed down certain processes that might have led to a greater worsening of the current situation. This is an imperceivable positive thing and a gain, but it does not satisfy us and it does not agree with our policy.

[Vasilcan] Since you do not want to join the right wing and you cannot be independent, does it mean that you will stay on the side of the PDSR?

[Verdet] No, but we are exempt from all responsibility.

[Vasilcan] Could you express it more clearly? Where will the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor] be positioned?

[Verdet] Why can there be a right-wing opposition but not a left-wing opposition?

[Vasilcan] Whom are you going to support in the parliament?

[Verdet] We will grant our support in accordance with the general party interests.

[Vasilcan] Do you think that increasing the electoral threshold to five percent represents a blow of the PDSR to its partners in the four-party alliance?

[Verdet] During discussions on the electoral law, it would have been natural for the four-party alliance to previously discuss such a theory. This did not happen, instead some new ideas have been advanced. Moreover, it was said that some talks had taken place, but nobody can make us support the ideas discussed with Mr. Corneliu Coposu [president of the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party] or with others. This threshold does not concern us. But this does not solve basic problems either.

[Vasilcan] Regarding the period of the electoral campaign, will there be a PSM-PDSR confrontation given the misunderstanding that you have mentioned?

[Verdet] We will respond with similar weapons. We do not wish to create animosity, but we will have a political confrontation. If the PDSR is going to use inadequate means, we will stop being the well-behaved ones and will conform to the situation. We do not want things to go that far. However, this does not refer only to the PDSR.

[Vasilcan] Do you believe it is possible to return to the old regime, to the reestablishment of the sole party, a return to the past?

[Verdet] A return to the old "regime," as you like to call it, is impossible because one cannot move backwards. Everything that was created during the totalitarian regime and the dictatorship will no longer enjoy the support of the masses or the international community, no matter what happens. After 1989, the former Communist Party, to which I also belonged and not just as a simple member, broke up into several parties, and the great majority of the parliamentary parties is made up of former members of the Communist Party. This was the situation that prevailed before 1989 and took shape after 1989 with the certain support it received. There can be no return from the situation of pluralism or that of the rule-of-law state...

[Vasilcan] Do you regret Nicolae Ceausescu?

[Verdet] That is too direct a question for me. I do not want to distance myself from certain people in a formal way, but I do not want to accuse them either. I have no reason to regret Ceausescu, with whom I had very serious disagreements on fundamental issues, and very often I blame him for the current situation. However, I cannot agree with those who shot him or with the way in which they did it. Nevertheless, he will always remain a marked figure in history, and nobody can eliminate him with the stroke of a pen. I believe that if Ceausescu had not been shot, we would have had much more to gain and learn from it, such as what we should not have done. Very many interesting things could have surfaced. Today there are very many heroes who claim they had said many things to Ceausescu. There will be a time to write about these things. All those people would have jumped in the sea or the most infested lake if Ceausescu had told them to, but today they are big heroes. Finally, I believe that nobody would condemn him more on fundamental political issues than I would because I did not work with him from a distance but very closely, and when I could take no more, I told him so and I resigned. And there are other people with such political views, it is not a matter of courage.

[Vasilcan] Who are they?

[Verdet] There are not many, but I am not going to mention names. In no way have I engaged in bad-mouthing Ceausescu, but I will write about it.

[Vasilcan] A book?

[Verdet] Yes. When it will be useful. Now it would just make a lot of noise. There are many terrible things, but many good things have to be told, too, so that people can learn from them. I can say neither that I regret him, nor that I am happy. He was a leader for 25 years at the helm of the country.

[Vasilcan] But Ceausescu was not shot dead by an abstract entity.

[Verdet] All of them are to be blamed for shooting him.

[Vasilcan] Ion Iliescu, too?

[Vasilcan] The act of arresting him and ordering the trial was not justified; that was a political action dictated maybe by some interests, possibly from abroad. It is no longer a secret what formerly was just a suspicion—namely the unwarranted foreign involvement.

[Vasilcan] But it was not foreigners who shot him.

[Verdet] Certainly that group [involved in Ceausescu Trial and execution] bears the whole responsibility because they could have refused obeying.

[Vasilcan] Does this mean that Ion Iliescu will have to answer one day for his deeds?

[Verdet] I do not believe that it will just be Ion Iliescu. I do not think it was him alone. There were many others.

[Vasilcan] So not only Iliescu, but all of them?

[Verdet] Yes, all of them. In the case of Ceausescu, they should not have resorted to a political trial.

Thaler on Associate EU Membership, Italian Stand

AU1409171595 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 14 Sep 95

["Excerpt" from an interview with Slovene Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler by an unidentified Radio Ljubljana correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Thaler] Our proposals, that is, our demands [in the negotiations with Italy] have been the same all the time and are fundamental. We are, of course, willing to negotiate, within the boundaries of reason, about these expectations—they are not even demands—namely, the expectation that if we agree on a manner of realization of the Rome Treaty, which is partially also the manner proposed by Italy, Italy would appreciate this and take into consideration the vital interest of the Slovene side, which lies primarily in the confirmation of the validity of agreements. The agreements are valid already, however, Italy has tried to avoid admitting this on numerous occasions.

Then there is the Italian support for our European ambitions. If we agree on the manner of realization of the Rome Treaty mentioned earlier, then we expect that Italy will support us, as opposed to a belief that this will open the debate on other Italian demands pertaining primarily to the opening of the Slovene real estate market and suchlike.

Of course, there is also the extremely important realm of the protection of the Slovene minority in Italy, where our basic demands and expectations remain the same and have not changed.

I unfortunately cannot say the same for the Italian side. As I have already said, it is evidently not sufficient for the Italian side to agree on the implementation of the Rome Treaty alone. Parallel to the negotiations with us, Italy is constantly exerting pressure on Brussels, the chairman of the European Union, and elsewhere; blackmailing with its demands regarding the harmonization of our legislation and, in this way, bringing into discussion the issues that should only be discussed before our full-fledged EU membership and not at this stage, when we are negotiating on associate membership.

What bothers me a lot, personally, is that, after receiving copious assurances on matters regarding the minority that are supposedly not a problem at all, for example, about Narodni Dom in Trieste, which was burnt down, their position on these issues then evolves in a different direction, namely, they dismiss it as being out of the question. A detailed resumption of these talks and the documents that exist about them will prove and heighten the awareness that the objective at this moment is evidently to brush the problem off the table—I am talking about the so-called option-takers problem, that is, the problem of the realization of the Rome Treaty. We cannot shed the impression that they are more interested in ways of preserving the levers of pressure on Slovenia.

Government Rejects Additional EU Conditions

AU1409204895 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2000 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Foreign Ministry today issued an explanation concerning what it calls the uncritical and unverified reportage of the Italian agencies about the statements by Italian Foreign Minister Susanna Agnelli. Agnelli supposedly stated yesterday that Slovene Foreign Minister Thaler with a letter to the European Parliament in which he had rejected the parliament's stance made a big mistake and that the reason for the halt in the Slovene-Italian negotiations were the assurances that the Slovene Government failed to provide to the Italian minority.

The ministry emphasizes that both pieces of information are untrue, as the aforementioned letter does not exist, while the Italian minority in Slovenia cannot be a reason for the halt in negotiations because its position has been resolved and official Rome does not view it as a problem in the negotiations. The Foreign Ministry here points to the problem of credibility of the Italian agencies.

The ministry's statement also says that the Slovene Government was surprised by the additional conditions contained in the initiative of Spain, the current chairman of the European Union. The government expects that Slovenia will sign the EU association agreement on the basis of the already initialed text without any additional conditions. Minister Thaler has recently conveyed these views in writing to Spain, as the chairman of the European Union and the European Commission.

Federal

Lilic Meets Duma Delegation, Praises Peace Policy

AU1409164995 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Sep 95

[Announcement by the General Secretariat of the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]

[FBIS Translated Text] We have extremely high respect for the principled stand President Yeltsin, the Russian leadership, and particularly the Duma are taking in solving the crisis. We particularly express our gratitude for the energetic opposition to the attempts to impose a military option and the unprovoked NATO raids on the entire territory of the Serb Republic [RS], towns, and civilian targets, whereby this military alliance has exceeded its authority and all Security Council resolutions, endangered the entire UN system, and thereby increased the danger of destabilizing overall relations in the world, Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, said during the meeting with a delegation of the Russian State Duma led by Sergey Glotov, chairman of the group of deputies for links with the former Yugoslav republics.

After the adoption of the peace plan and the joint approach of the delegation of the FRY and the RS, the policy of double standards continued by the international community cannot lead to peace, but only to the spreading of the war conflagration in the region and beyond, President Lilic pointed out, concluding that only equal treatment and identical conditions for everybody can lead to the end of the war and the establishment of a lasting and stable peace.

The head of the Russian parliamentary delegation, Mr. Glotov, and other members of the delegation informed President Lilic about the State Duma's firm resolve to maintain its support for the concrete implementation of the three laws adopted: a demand for an end to Russia's participation in the sanctions, a demand for an end to the genocide against the Serbian people, and the third, on humanitarian aid, that President Yeltsin has already signed and that has already begun to be implemented.

According to Glotov, the goal of this several-day visit to our country and the RS is for the deputies to see all events for themselves on the spot, to collect as many facts as possible, and to obtain the full truth on the basis of which many actions and moves will be proposed to the Duma itself, President Yeltsin, and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin.

President Lilic thanked the guests from Russia for the resolve that the State Duma is showing in its intention to help the FRY and the entire Serbian people in its just struggle for equal treatment and for their peace policy, for their resolve to reach that goal, and for their decision to send two more delegations, as well as one more at the beginning of next month to be headed by Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin.

The signature of Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin on the humanitarian aid law is, for us, more than just the act of signing, but an act of support for our consistent policy. What would be of primary significance for us is the implementation of the law on the unilateral lifting of sanctions, as well as a further improvement of the economic and other relations between our two countries, President Lilic said.

We are going to remain consistent in the peace policy that we have been leading all the time and will support actively any peace initiative. If their goal is to reach peace, however, the United Nations, the Security Council, and the NATO forces must establish identical measures of conduct for all three warring sides in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which in fact means that the already 15-day long NATO raids cannot serve as a shield for Muslim aggression and a Croatian offensive, President Lilic pointed out during the meeting with a delegation of the Russian State Duma.

Serbia

Russian Duma Delegation Leaves for Vukovar

LD1409210595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2052 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad, Sept. 14 (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Russian parliament lower house, the State Duma, left Thursday evening for Vukovar, the seat of the Srem-Baranja region in the east of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The delegation, headed by Sergey Glotov, was also to go to Pale on Friday.

Immediately prior to leaving, the delegation held talks with chief of the crisis staff for care of refugees in Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina Zivorad Smiljanic.

He informed the Russian parliamentarians about the very difficult position of the 112,000 refugees from Serb Krajina who found shelter in Vojvodina.

He also informed them about a new exodus of Serbs as indicated by columns numbering currently 55,000 Serbs fleeing the places in the Bosnian Serb republic occupied by the Croatian Army regulars and the Bosnian Muslims and Croats taking full advantage of NATO air strikes on the Bosnian Serb targets.

Kosovo

'RSK' Refugees To Be Granted Land in Istok

LD1409175595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1641 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Istok, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—Deputies of the Istok [northeast of Pec, northwest of Pristina] municipal assembly today confirmed that some 500 refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) were accommodated in two collection centers.

Given that most of the people from Krajina expressed readiness to permanently remain here and that they originally came from villages, the assembly decided to give away 97 hectares and 66 ares of land divided into 250 plots for the construction of family houses.

This land consists of 20-are smallholdings, which will be given to RSK refugees for permanent use.

In the immediate vicinity of the refugee villages (four are scheduled to be constructed), all the interested RSK refugees will be given two to five hectares of land depending on the size of their households.

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